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|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| GUACANAGARI | PONTIAC       | BLACK HAWK    |
| MONTEZUMA   | CAPTAIN PIPE  | KEOKUK        |
| GUATIMOTZIN | LOGAN         | SACAGAWEA     |
| POWHATAN    | CORNPLANTER   | BENITO JUAREZ |
| POCAHONTAS  | JOSEPH BRANT  | MANGUS        |
| SAMOSET     | RED JACKET    | COLORADAS     |
| MASSASOIT   | LITTLE TURTLE | LITTLE CROW   |
| KING PHILIP | TECUMSEH      | SITTING BULL  |
| UNCAS       | OSCEOLA       | CHIEF JOSEPH  |
| TEDYUSKUNG  | SEQUOYA       | GERONIMO      |
|             | SHABONEE      |               |



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1911















A  
**DISCOURSE**  
ON THE  
**RELIGION OF THE INDIAN TRIBES**  
OF  
**NORTH AMERICA.**

DELIVERED BEFORE  
**THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,**

DECEMBER 20, 1819.

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BY SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS,

D. D. A. A. S.

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Jusques dans leurs démarches les plus indifférentes on apperçoit des traces de la religion primitive; mais qui échappent à ceux, qui ne les étudient pas assez, par la raison qu'elles sont encore plus effacées par le défaut d'instruction, qu'altérées par le mélange d'un culte superstitieux, et par des traditions fabuleuses....*Charlevoix.*

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NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

*Resolution*

DECEMBER 20th, 1819.

*Resolved, that the thanks of this Society be presented to the Rev. SAMUEL F. JARVIS, D. D. for the Anniversary Discourse delivered by him this day, and that he be respectfully requested to furnish the Society with a copy for publication.*

*Resolved, that Doctor A. W. IVES, G. C. VERPLANCK, and M. C. PATERSON, Esqrs. be a Committee to wait on the Reverend Doctor Jarvis, with this resolution.*

JOHN PINTARD,

*Recording Secretary.*





A  
**DISCOURSE**

ON

**THE RELIGION OF THE INDIAN TRIBES**

OF

**NORTH AMERICA.**

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*Mr. President, and  
Gentlemen of the Historical Society,*

IN surveying those portions of American history, from which I might select a subject for the present occasion, it appeared to me, that the religion of the Indian tribes of North America, had not been viewed with that largeness of observation, which is the characteristic of enlightened philosophy. Various causes may be mentioned, which have hitherto conspired to prevent, or to impede, such an examination. In the first place, the horror, proceeding from the cruelties of their warfare, forbade the calmness of investigation. As long as they were formidable, curiosity was overpowered by terror; and there was neither leisure, nor inclination, to contemplate their character as a portion of the human family, while the glare of conflagration reddened the mid-

night sky, and the yells of the savage, mingling with the shrieks of butchered victims, rode, as portentous messengers, upon every gale. But that state of things has long ceased to exist. The white men of America have become too numerous, to fear any longer the effects of savage barbarity; and the tales, which once carried terror to the stoutest heart, are now scarcely heard beyond the precincts of the nursery. In the room of fear, should now arise a sentiment of pity. "The red men are melting," to borrow the expressive metaphor of one of their most celebrated warriors\*—"like snow before the sun;" and we should be anxious, before it is too late, to copy the evanescent features of their character, and perpetuate them on the page of history.

But when fear ceases, contempt is a natural consequence. The Indian, whose character was once so lofty and independent, is now seen begging at our doors for the price of his perdition; and, as our foot spurns the suppliant, we are apt to think, that nothing, connected with one so vile, can be worthy of our attention. But is it fair to judge from so vitiated a specimen? When a race of men are mingled with others, who consider them as inferiors, they inevitably become so. Submission to contempt, is an acknowledgment of its justice. If, therefore, the

\* The noted Miami Chief Mishikinakwa, or Little Turtle, who contributed most to the defeat of St. Clair. See Volney's View of the soil and climate of the United States. Supplement, No. VI. Philad. 1804, p. 385.



Indian would avoid degradation, he must retire from the habitations of white men ; and if we wish to see him in his original character, we must follow him to his native forests.—There, surely, he is worthy of our attention. The lovers of the physical sciences, explore the woods of America, to cull her plants, and to investigate the habits of her animals. Shall not the lovers of the moral sciences, be equally ardent and industrious ? Shall man, who stands at the summit of earthly creation, be forgotten, amid the general scrutiny ?

The sources of prejudice which I have mentioned, influence the examination of every subject, connected with the Indian character : there are peculiar difficulties, with regard to that on which I have chosen to address you.

The Indians themselves are not communicative in relation to their religion ; and it requires a good deal of familiar, attentive, and I may add, unsuspected observation, to obtain any knowledge respecting it. Hence, many who have been transiently resident among them, have very confidently pronounced, that they have no religion ; an assertion, which subsequent and more accurate travellers, have shown to be entirely unfounded.\*

Those, also, on whom we rely for information, have either been too little informed to know what to observe, or they have been influenced by peculiar

\* See Note A.

modes of thinking, which have given a tinge to all they have said on the subject.

The various speculations, for example, on the question, whence America was peopled, led to many misrepresentations of the religious rites of its inhabitants; and affinities were discovered which existed no where but in the fancy of the inventor. Gomara, Lerius, and Lescarbot, inferred from some resemblances of this kind, that America was peopled by the Canaanites when they were expelled by Joshua; and the celebrated Grotius, adopting the sentiment of Martyr, imagined that Yucatan was first peopled by Ethiopians, and that those Ethiopians were Christians!\*

The human mind derives pleasure from paradox, for the same reason that it delights in wit. Both produce new and surprising combinations of thought; and the judgment, being overpowered by the fervours of imagination, becomes for a time insensible to their extravagance.

It is well known, that, among the philosophers of Europe, the opinion has very generally prevailed, that the natives of America were, both as to physical and mental powers, a feeble race; and, impressed with this belief, they hardly considered the religion of the Indians as worthy of minute attention. The celebrated historian of America, has unconsciously fallen into this error, at the very moment in

\* See Nota B.

which he was censuring others, for suffering their relation of facts to be perverted, by an attachment to preconceived theories.\*

Volney, in opposition to the sentiments of Rousseau, has endeavoured to sink the character of the savage, in the same proportion as that eccentric author sought to raise it. On the subject of the Indian religion especially, no one should be read with greater caution. He who could imagine that Christianity was only an astronomical allegory, and that the birth of our Saviour meant no more than that the sun had entered the constellation Virgo, can hardly be considered as perfectly sane, even when he treats on the religion of Heathens.† We need not be surprised, therefore, at the assertion, that the Indians have no regular system of religion; that each one employs the liberty allowed him of making a religion for himself; and that all the worship they know is offered to the authors of evil.‡ Never was there an

\* See Robertson's *America*, book iv. §. vii.

† See *Les Ruines, ou Meditations sur les Revolutions des Empires*, par M. Volney. *Nouvelle edition, corrigée*, Paris, 1792, 8vo. chap. 22. p. 185. 221-4. In this work, Volney had the hardihood to maintain, not only that our Saviour was an allegorical personage, but that all religions, Heathen, Mahometan, and Jewish, as well as Christian, are in substance the same; that all have arisen from a literal interpretation of the figurative language of astronomers; and that the very idea of a God, sprung from a personification of the elements, and of the physical powers of the universe. At the sight of this monstrous creation of a disordered fancy, one cannot help exclaiming with Stillingfleet, "Oh what will not Atheists believe, rather than a Deity and Providence."

‡ Volney's *View of the United States*, ut sup. trans. by Brown, p. 416.



assertion more unfounded; but it enabled him to quote that maxim of the Epicurean poet, which is so frequently in the mouths of unbelievers, that all religion originated in fear :

*Primos in orbe Deos fecit timor.*

On the other hand, an hypothesis has somewhat extensively prevailed, which exalts the religion of the Indians as much above its proper level, as Volney has debased it below; I mean that, which supposes them to be the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel. This theory so possessed the mind of Adair, that, although he had the greatest opportunities of obtaining knowledge, his book is, comparatively, of little use. We are constantly led to suspect the fidelity of his statements, because his judgment had lost its equipoise, and he saw every thing through a discoloured medium. I feel myself bound to notice this hypothesis the more, because it has lately been revived and brought before the public, by a venerable member of this society, whose exalted character renders every opinion he may defend a subject of respectful attention.\*

To the mind of every religious man, the history of the Hebrews is a subject of peculiar interest; and it is impossible to read of the extermination of the

\* See Dr. Boudinot's *Star in the West*, or a humble attempt to discover the long-lost ten tribes of Israel, preparatory to their return to their beloved city Jerusalem. Trenton, (N. J.) 1816. 8vo.

kingdom of Israel, without a feeling of compassion for the captives, who were thus torn from the land of their prerogative. The impenetrable darkness which hangs over their subsequent history, combines with this sentiment of pity, the powerful excitement of curiosity. It is not, then, to be wondered at, that when the disquisitions arose respecting the peopling of America, the idea of tracing to these western shores the long-lost tribes of Israel, should also have arisen before the eye of imagination with captivating splendour; that the thought should have been seized with avidity by men who were pious, and ardent, and contemplative; and that, in the establishment of a theory which every one could wish to be true, facts should be strained from their natural bent, and resemblances imagined, which have no existence in reality.

The most unequivocal method of tracing the origin of the aborigines of America, as Charlevoix has sensibly remarked, is to ascertain the character of their languages, and to compare them with the primitive languages of the eastern hemisphere.\*

But this test will, I conceive, be found very fatal to the theory in question. The best informed writers agree, that there are, exclusive of the Karalit or Esquimaux, three radical languages spoken by the

\* Charlevoix's *Dissertation sur l'origine des Amériquains*, prefixed to his *Journal d'un voyage dans l'Amer. Septent.*—*Hist. de la nouvelle France*, tom. iii. p. 36.

Indians of North America.\* Mr. Heckewelder denominates them the Iroquois, the Lenapé, and the Floridian. The Iroquois is spoken by the six nations, the Wyandots or Hurons, the Naudowessies, the Assiniboils, and other tribes beyond the St. Lawrence. The Lenapé, which is the most widely extended language on this side of the Mississippi, was spoken by the tribes, now extinct, who formerly inhabited Nova-Scotia and the present state of Maine, the Abenákis, Micmacs, Canibas, Openangos, Socokis, Etchemins, and Souriquois: dialects of it are now spoken by the Miamis, the Potawotamies, Missisaugoes, and Kickapoos; the Conestogos, Nanticokes, Shawanese, and Mohicans; the Algonquins, Knisteneaux, and Chippeways. The Floridian includes the languages of the Creeks or Muskohgees, Chickesaws, Choctaws, Pascagoulas, Cherokees, Seminoles, and several others in the Southern states and Florida.† These three languages are primitive, that is to say, are so distinct as to have no perceivable affinity. All, therefore, cannot be derived from the Hebrew; for it is a contradiction in terms, to speak of three languages radically different, as de-

\* See Note C.

† Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia for promoting useful knowledge. Vol. i. Philad. 1819, 8vo. No. I. An account of the history, manners, and customs, of the Indian nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania, and the neighbouring states. By the Rev. John Heckewelder, of Bethlehem. Chap. ix. p. 104.



rived from a common source.\* Which then, we may well ask, is to be selected as the posterity of the Israelites: the Iroquois, the Lenapé, or the southern Indians?

Besides, there is one striking peculiarity in the construction of American languages, which has no counterpart in the Hebrew. Instead of the ordinary division of genders, they divide into the animate and inanimate. It is impossible to conceive that any nation, in whatever circumstances they might be placed, could depart, in so remarkable a manner, from the idioms of their native language.†

But supposing that there were some affinity in any one of the languages of North America to the Hebrew, still it would not prove that the persons who speak it are of Hebrew descent. The Arabic and the Amharic have very strong affinities with the Hebrew: but does it thence follow that the Arabs and Abyssinians are Hebrews? Admitting, therefore, the fact of this affinity, in its fullest extent, the only legitimate inference would be, that the languages of America are of oriental derivation, and, consequently, that America was peopled from Asia.

To pursue this subject further, would occupy too much time upon a point which is merely subsidiary.‡ But I cannot forbear remarking, that, while the nation of Israel has been wonderfully preserved, the

\* See Note D. † See Note E. ‡ See Note F.

Indians are nearly exterminated. The nation of Israel will hereafter be restored to the land of their forefathers ; but this event must speedily arrive, or the unhappy tribes of America can have no part in it. A few years more, and they will be beyond the capability of migration !

The question, then, with regard to the immediate origin of the American Indians, must remain in the uncertainty which hangs over it. Nothing but a more extensive knowledge of the languages of this continent, of those of Northern Asia, and of the Islands in the Southern Pacific, can throw any additional light upon a problem, which has so long exercised, and so completely exhausted, the ingenuity of conjecture. Their religion furnishes no assistance in the solution, for it cannot be identified with that of any particular nation, in any other portion of the globe ; and though resemblances, and those very strong and striking, can be traced, yet they are such as are common to the great family of man, and prove nothing but that all have one common origin.

It will be readily seen, however, that this proof is of vast importance. If the religion of the Indians exhibits traces of that primeval religion which was of divine appointment ; if the debasement of it was owing, as among all other nations, to the concurrent operation of human ignorance, weakness, and corruption ; and if its rites, and even its superstitious

observances, bear that analogy to those of the old world, which must exist where all have flowed from one source : then all that is really useful in the question respecting the origin of the inhabitants of this continent will be fully obtained. There will be no anomaly in the history of human nature ; and the assertion of Voltaire will be found to be as false as it is flippant, that the Americans are a race entirely different from other men, and that they have sprung into existence like plants and insects.\*

\* " Il n'est permis qu'à un aveugle de douter que les Blancs, les Nègres, les Albinos, les Hottentots, les Lapons, les Chinois, les Américains soient des races entièrement différentes." Voltaire Œuvres, vol. 16. p. 8.

" Au reste si l'on demande d'où sont venus les Américains, il faut aussi demander d'où sont venus les habitants des terres Australes ; et l'on a déjà répondu que la providence qui a mis des hommes dans le Norvège, en a planté aussi en Amérique et sous le cercle polaire meridional, comme elle y a planté des arbres et fait croître de l'herbe." Ibid, p. 10.

" Se peut-il qu'on demande encore d'où sont venus les hommes qui ont peuplé l'Amérique ? On doit assurément faire la même question sur les nations des Terres Australes. Elles sont beaucoup plus éloignées du port dont partit Christophe Colomb, que ne le sont les îles Antilles. On a trouvé des hommes et des animaux partout où la terre est habitable ; qui les y a mis ? On a déjà dit ; C'est celui qui fait croître l'herbe des champs : et on ne devait pas être plus surpris de trouver en Amérique des hommes que des mouches." Ib. p. 37.

How much pains did this extraordinary man take to degrade that nature of which he was at once the ornament and the shame ! No one can read the writings of Voltaire, without a feeling of admiration at the wonderful versatility of his talents. No one can help being amused, and having his mind drawn along, by the powers of his excursive fancy. But with all this, there is, to every serious and sensitive mind, a feeling of disgust and shrinking abhorrence. By associating ludicrous images with subjects which have been hallowed by the veneration of ages, he has the address to impart to them that ridicule which properly belongs only to the company in which he has



Previous to the dispersion of the descendants of Noah, the knowledge of the true God, of the worship which he required from his creatures, and of the sanctions with which he enforced his commands, must have been common to all. It is impossible to conceive of any distinction where all were equally related to him, and possessed equal means of instruction and knowledge. In a word, the whole of mankind formed one universal church, having the same faith and the same worship.

How long this purity continued we know not, nor when, nor where, idolatry was first introduced. That it began, however, at a very early period, we have the strongest evidence ; for Terah, the father of Abraham, was an idolater, notwithstanding the precepts and example of Noah, both of which, for more than a hundred years, he personally enjoyed. We may account for it from that tendency in our nature which seeks to contract every thing within the compass of our understanding, and to subject it, if possible, to the scrutiny of our senses. A Being purely spiritual, omniscient and omnipotent, is above our comprehension, and we seek, by the multiplication of subordinate deities, to account for the opera-

placed them. Hence, his writings have done more injury to truth, and to human happiness, than those of any other modern—perhaps I may add, of any other being. The thoughtless and the timid have been frightened out of their good principles by his caustic sarcasm, while to the rashly bold and ignorantly daring, the eyes of the judgment have been blinded by the coruscations of his wit.

tions of his power. When this is done, the imagination feels itself at liberty to clothe them with corporeal forms ; and from this idea, the transition is not difficult, to the formation of idols, and the introduction of idolatry.

But notwithstanding this departure from primeval purity, the religion of mankind did not at once lose all its original brightness. It was still the form of the archangel ruined. It did not reject the worship of the true God, but seems only to have absurdly combined with it the worship of inferior divinities.

When Abraham sojourned at Gerar, the king of that country had evidently communications with the Almighty ; and the testimony which God gave of the integrity of his character, and his submission to the divine admonition, clearly prove that he was a true believer.\*

At a subsequent period, when Isaac lived in the same country, the king, a descendant of the former monarch, requested that a covenant of friendship should be made between them, because, as he observed, Isaac was the blessed of Jehovah.† “ This,” as Bishop Horsley remarks, “ is the language of one who feared Jehovah, and acknowledged his providence.”‡

When Joseph was brought before the King of

\* Gen. xx. 3, 4, 5, 6. See also xxi. 22, 23. † Gen. xxvi. 28, 29.

† Horsley's Dissertation on the Prophecies of the Messiah, dispersed among the Heathen, prefixed to Nine Serms. p. 41. New-York, 1816. 8vo.

Egypt, both speak of God as if they had the same faith, and the same trust in his overruling providence.\*

Even at so late a period as when the Israelites entered Canaan, the spies of Joshua found a woman of Jericho, who confessed that "Jehovah, the God of Israel, he is God in Heaven above, and in the earth beneath."†

The book of Job presents an interesting view of the patriarchal religion as it existed in Arabia; and, it will be remembered that, in Mesopotamia, Balaam was a prophet of the Most High.

These instances are sufficient to show how extensively the worship of the true God prevailed, and that it had not become extinct even when the children of Israel took possession of the land of promise, and became the peculiar people of Jehovah. That it was blended, however, with the worship of inferior divinities, represented in idolatrous forms, is equally apparent from the sacred history.

When the servant of Abraham had disclosed to the family of Nahor the purpose of his mission, both Laban and Bethuel replied: "The thing proceedeth from Jehovah; we cannot speak unto thee bad or good."‡ This reply was an evidence of their faith in the true God; yet it afterwards appears that the same Laban had images which he called his Gods, and which were regarded with veneration, and

\* Gen. xli. 25, 32, 38, 39. † Josh. ii. v. 11. ‡ Gen. xxiv. 50.



greatly valued by himself and his children.\* Upon the occasion of Jacob's departure to Bethel, he commanded his household to "put away the strange Gods that were among them." These Gods must have been numerous; for it is mentioned that "they gave unto Jacob all the strange Gods which were in their hand, and he hid them under the oak by Shechem.† Even the chosen family, therefore, was not exempt from the infection of idolatry.

But this was idolatry in its milder form. The progress of corruption among mankind soon introduced a grosser and more malignant species. The worship of the invisible Creator was at length forgotten; His seat was usurped by fictitious deities; and a general apostacy prevailed.

Quis nescit—qualia demens

Ægyptus portenta colat?—

Porrum et cæpe nefas violare, aut frangere morsu.

O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis

Numina!

JUVENAL. SAT. XV.‡

Then it was that the Almighty was pleased to give the nations over "to a reprobate mind,"§ and to select

\* Gen. xxxi. 19. 30. 32. 34, 35.      † Gen. xxxv. 2. 4.

‡ Who knows not to what monstrous Gods, my friend,  
The mad inhabitants of Egypt bend?

—————"Tis dangerous here

To violate an onion, or to stain

The sanctity of leeks, with tooth profane.

O holy nations! Sacro-sanct abodes!

Where every garden propagates its gods!—GIFFORD.

§ Rom. i. 28.

a peculiar people, to be a signal example of his providence, the witness of his wonders, and the guardian of that revelation with which he sought to check the waywardness of human corruption.

I. Having thus seen that all false religions are, in a greater or less degree, departures from the true ; that there is a tendency in the human mind, to form low and limited views of the Supreme Being ; and that, in fact, all nations have fallen into the corruptions of polytheism and idolatry ; we should conclude, even in reasoning *a priori*, that the religion of the Indians would be found to partake of the general character. Accordingly, the fact is amply attested, that while they acknowledge One Supreme Being, whom they denominate the *Great Spirit*, or the *Master of Life*, they also believe in Subordinate Divinities, who have the chief regulation of the affairs of men.

Charlevoix, who had all the opportunities of obtaining information which personal observation, and the united testimony of the French missionaries could give, is an unexceptionable witness with regard to the Hurons, the Iroquois, and the Algonquins. Nothing, says he, is more certain, though at the same time obscure, than the conception which the American savages have of a Supreme Being. All agree that he is the Great Spirit, and that he is the master, creator, and governor of the world.\*

\* Charlevoix, Journal, &c. let. xxiv. p. 343.

The Hurons call him Areskoui; the Iroquois, by a slight variation, Agreskoué. He is, with them, the God of war. His name they invoke as they march. It is the signal to engage, and it is the war-cry in the hottest of the battle.\*

But, beside the Supreme Being, they believe in an infinite number of subaltern spirits, who are the objects of worship. These they divide into good and bad. The good spirits are called, by the Hurons, *Okkis*, by the Algonquins, *Manitous*. They suppose them to be the guardians of men, and that each has his own tutelary deity.† In fact, every thing in nature has its spirit, though all have not the same rank nor the same influence. The animals they hunt have their spirits. If they do not understand

\* Charlevoix, Journal, &c. let. xxiv. p. 344. "Il paroît que dans ces chansons (de guerre) on invoque le Dieu de la guerre, que les Hurons appellent *Areskoui*, et les Iroquois *Agreskoué*. Je ne sçai pas quel nom on lui donne dans les langues Algonquines. Mais n'est il pas un peu étonnant que dans le mot Grec *Αρης*, qui est le *Mars*, et le Dieu de la guerre dans tous les pays, où l'on a suivi la Théologie d'Homere, on trouve la racine d'où semblent dériver plusieurs termes de la langue Huronne et Iroquoise, qui ont rapport à la guerre? *Aregouen* signifie, faire la guerre, et se conjugue ainsi: *Garego*, je fais la guerre; *Sarego*, tu fais la guerre; *Arego*, il fait la guerre. Au reste, Areskoui n'est pas seulement le Mars de ces peuples; il est encore le Souverain des Dieux, ou, comme ils s'expriment, le Grand Esprit, le Créateur et le Maître du Monde, le Génie qui gouverne tout: mais c'est principalement pour les expéditions militaires, qu'on l'invoque, comme si la qualité, qui lui fait le plus d'honneur étoit celle de Dieu des armées. Son nom est le cri de guerre avant le combat, et au fort de la mêlée: dans les marches même on le répète souvent, comme pour s'encourager, et pour implorer son assistance." Ibid, p. 208.

† See Note G.

any thing, they immediately say, *It is a spirit*. If any man performs a remarkable exploit, or exhibits extraordinary talents, he is said *to be a spirit*, or, in other words, his tutelary deity is supposed to be of more than ordinary power.\*

It is remarkable, however, that these tutelary deities are not supposed to take men under their protection till something has been done to merit the favour. A parent who wishes to obtain a guardian spirit for his child, first blackens his face, and then causes him to fast for several days.† During this time it is expected that the spirit will reveal himself in a dream; and on this account, the child is anxiously examined every morning with regard to the visions of the preceding night. Whatever the child happens to dream of the most frequently, even if it happen to be the head of a bird, the foot of an animal, or any thing of the most worthless nature, becomes the symbol or figure under which the *Okki* reveals himself. With this figure, in the conceptions of his votary, the spirit becomes identified; the image is preserved with the greatest care—is the constant companion on all great and important occasions, and the constant object of consultation and worship.‡

As soon as a child is informed what is the nature

\* Charlevoix, Journal, &c. let. xxiv. p. 345-6. [See Note H.]

† See Note I.

‡ Charlevoix, ut supr. p. 346.



or form of his protecting deity, he is carefully instructed in the obligations he is under to do him homage—to follow his advice communicated in dreams—to deserve his favours—to confide implicitly in his care—and to dread the consequences of his displeasure. For this reason, when the Huron or the Iroquois goes to battle or to the chase, the image of *his okki* is as carefully carried with him as his arms.\* At night, each one places his guardian idol on the palisades surrounding the camp, with the face turned from the quarter to which the warriors, or hunters, are about to march. He then prays to it for an hour, as he does also in the morning before he continues his course. This homage performed, he lies down to rest, and sleeps in tranquillity, fully persuaded that his spirit will assume the whole duty of keeping guard, and that he has nothing to fear.†

\* See Note K.

† “ Mais ce que l'on oublieroit encore moins que les armes, et ce que l'on conserve avec le plus grand soin dont les sauvages sont capables, ce sont les *Manitous*. J'en parlerai ailleurs plus amplement : il suffit ici de dire que ce sont les symboles, sous lesquels chacun se représente son esprit familier. On les met tous dans un sac fait de Joncs, et peint de différentes couleurs ; et souvent, pour faire honneur au chef, on place ce sac sur le devant de son canot. S'il y a trop de *Manitous* pour tenir dans un seul sac, on les distribue dans plusieurs, qui sont confiés à la garde du lieutenant et des anciens de chaque famille. Alors on y joint les presens, qui ont été faits pour avoir des prisonniers, avec les langues de tous les animaux, qu'on a tués pendant la campagne, et dont on doit faire au retour un sacrifice aux esprits.” Charlevoix, Journal, p. 223.

“ On campe lontems avant le soleil couché, et pour l'ordinaire on laisse devant le camp un grand espace environné d'une palissade, ou plutôt d'une

With this account of Charlevoix, the relations which the Moravian missionaries give, not only of the Iroquois, but also of the Lenapés, or Delawares, and the numerous tribes derived from them, perfectly accord. "The prevailing opinion of all these nations is," says Loskiel, "that there is one God, or, as they call him, one great and good Spirit, who has created the heavens and the earth, and made man and every other creature." But "beside the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities." "Our missionaries have not found rank polytheism, or gross idolatry, to exist among the Indians. They have, however, something which may be called an idol.\* This is the *Manitto*, representing, in wood, the head of a man in miniature, which they always carry about them, either on a string round their neck, or in a bag. They hang it also about their children, to preserve them from illness, and ensure to them success. When they perform a solemn sacrifice, a *manitto*, or a head as large as life, is put upon a pole in the middle of the house. But they understand by the word *manitto*, every being to which an offering is made, especially all good

espece de treillis, sur lequel on place les *Manitous* tournés du côté, où l'on veut aller. On les y invoque pendant une heure, et on en fait autant tous les matins, avant que de décamper. Après cela on croit n'avoir rien à craindre, on suppose que les esprits se chargent de faire seuls la sentinelle, et toute l'armée dort tranquillement sous leur sauve-garde." Ibid, p. 236.

\* See Note L.

spirits. They also look upon the elements, almost all animals, and even some plants, as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. The manittoes are also considered as tutelar spirits. Every Indian has one or more, which he conceives to be peculiarly given to assist him and make him prosper. One has, in a dream, received the sun as his tutelar spirit, another the moon ; a third, an owl ; a fourth, a buffalo. An Indian is dispirited, and considers himself as forsaken by God, till he has received a tutelar spirit in a dream ; but those who have been thus favoured, are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally.\*

This account is corroborated by Heckewelder in his late interesting history of the Indian nations.

“It is a part of their religious belief,” says he, “that there are inferior *manittos*, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements ; that being so great, he, like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests ; these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report to him what is doing upon earth ; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger. Thus I have frequently witnessed Indians,

\* Loskiel, part 1. chap. iii. p. 34, 35, 39, 40. Lond. 1794,

on the approach of a storm or thunder gust, address the manitto of the air to avert all danger from them: I have also seen the Chippeways, on the lakes of Canada, pray to the manitto of the waters, that he might prevent the swells from rising too high, while they were passing over them. In both these instances, they expressed their acknowledgment, or showed their willingness to be grateful, by throwing tobacco in the air, or strewing it on the waters.”\*—  
 “But amidst all these superstitious notions, the Supreme Manitto, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is the great object of their adoration. On him they rest their hopes—to him they address their prayers, and make their solemn sacrifices.”†

The Knistineaux Indians, who inhabit the country extending from Labrador, across the continent, to the Highlands which divide the waters on Lake Superior from those of Hudson’s Bay, appear, from Mackenzie’s account, to have the same system, of one great Supreme, and innumerable subordinate deities. “The Great Master of Life,” to use their own expression, “is the sacred object of their devotion. But each man carries in his medicine bag a kind of household God, which is a small carved image about eight inches long. Its first covering is of down, over which a piece of beech bark is closely tied, and the whole is enveloped in several folds of

\* See Note M. † Heckewelder, p. 205, 6.



red and blue cloth. This little figure is an object of the most pious regard.”\*

It is remarkable, that the description given by Peter Martyr, who was the companion of Columbus, of the worship of the inhabitants of Cuba, perfectly agrees with this account of the Northern Indians by Mackenzie. They believed in the existence of one supreme, invisible, immortal, and omnipotent creator, whom they named *Jocahuna*, but at the same time acknowledged a plurality of subordinate deities. They had little images called *Zemes*, whom they looked upon as only a kind of messengers between them and the eternal, omnipotent, and invisible God. These images they considered as bodies inhabited by spirits, and oracular responses were therefore received from them as uttered by the divine command.†

The religion of Porto Rico, Jamaica, and Hispaniola, was the same as that of Cuba; for the inhabitants were of the same race, and spoke the same language. The Carribean Islands, on the other hand, were inhabited by a very fierce and savage people, who were continually at war with the milder natives of Cuba and Hispaniola, and were regarded

\* Mackenzie's Voyages from Montreal, on the river St. Lawrence, through the continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the years 1789 and 1793. Lond. 1801. 4to. p. ci. cii. 8vo. 1802. vol. i. p. 124.

† Pet. Mart. decad i. lib. ix. apud Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacræ*, vol. 2. p. 360. and Edwards' *West-Indies*, vol. i. p. 83. [See Note N]

by them with the utmost terror and abhorrence. Yet "the Charaibes," to use the language of the elegant historian of the West Indies, "while they entertained an awful sense of one great Universal Cause, of a superior, wise, and invisible Being of absolute and irresistible power, admitted also the agency of subordinate divinities. They supposed that each individual person had his peculiar protector or tutelary deity; and they had their lares and penates, gods of their own creating." "Hughes, in his History of Barbadoes, mentions many fragments of Indian idols, dug up in that island, which were composed of the same materials as their earthen vessels. 'I saw the head of one,' says he, 'which alone weighed above sixty pounds. This, before it was broken off, stood upon an oval pedestal, about three feet in height. The heads of all the others were very small. These lesser idols were, in all probability, made small for the ease and conveniency of being carried with them in their several journeys, as the larger sort were perhaps designed for some stated places of worship.'"<sup>\*</sup>

Thus, in this vast extent of country, from Hudson's Bay to the West Indies, including nations whose languages are radically different, nations unconnected with, and unknown to, each other, the greatest uniformity of belief prevails with regard to

<sup>\*</sup> Edwards, vol. i. p. 48-9. and Hughes, p. 7. apud Edwards ut. sup.

the Supreme Being, and the greatest harmony in their system of polytheism. After this view, it is impossible not to remark, that there is a smaller departure from the original religion among the Indians of America, than among the more civilized nations of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. The idea of the Divine Unity is much more perfectly preserved ; the subordinate divinities are kept at a much more immeasurable distance from the Great Spirit ; and, above all, there has been no attempt among them to degrade to the likeness of men, the invisible and incomprehensible Creator of the universe. In fact, theirs is exactly that milder form of idolatry which “ prevailed every where from the days of Abraham, his single family excepted,” and which, after the death of that patriarch and of his son Isaac, infected, from time to time, even the chosen family itself.\*

II. The belief of a future state of rewards and punishments has been kept alive among all heathen nations, by its connexion with the sensible enjoyments and sufferings, and the consequent hopes and terrors of men.

Its origin must have been in divine revelation ; for it is impossible to conceive that the mind could have attained to it by its own unassisted powers. But the thought, when once communicated, would, in the shipwreck of dissolving nature, be clung to with the

\* Horsley's Dissertation, ut *supr.* p. 47.

grasp of expiring hope. Hence no nations have yet been found, however rude and barbarous, who have not agreed in the great and general principle of retributive immortality. When, however, we descend to detail, and inquire into their peculiar notions with regard to this expected state, we find that their traditions are coloured by the nature of their earthly occupations, and the opinions they thence entertain on the subject of good and evil.

This remark is fully verified by the history of the American Indians. "The belief most firmly established among the American savages," says Charlevoix, "is that of the immortality of the soul.\* They suppose, that when separated from the body, it preserves the same inclinations which it had when both were united. For this reason, they bury with the dead all that they had in use when alive. Some imagine that all men have two souls, one of which never leaves the body unless it be to inhabit another. This transmigration, however, is peculiar to the souls of those who die in infancy, and who therefore have the privilege of commencing a second life, because they enjoyed so little of the first. Hence children are buried along the highways, that the women, as they pass, may receive their souls. From this idea of their remaining with the body, arises the duty of placing food upon their graves;† and mothers have been seen to draw from their

\* See Note O.

† Journal Historique, p. 351. [See Note P.]



bosoms that nourishment which these little creatures loved when alive, and shed it upon the earth which covered their remains.”\*

“ When the time has arrived for the departure of those spirits which leave the body, they pass into a region which is destined to be their eternal abode, and which is therefore called the Country of Souls. This country is at a great distance toward the west, and to go thither costs them a journey of many months. They have many difficulties to surmount, and many perils to encounter. They speak of a stream in which many suffer shipwreck ;—of a dog from which they, with difficulty, defend themselves ;—of a place of suffering where they expiate their faults ;—of another in which the souls of those prisoners who have been tortured are again tormented, and who therefore linger on their course, to delay as long as possible the moment of their arrival. From this idea it proceeds, that after the death of these unhappy victims, for fear their souls may remain around the huts of their tormentors from the thirst of vengeance, the latter are careful to

\* “ On a vû des mères garder des années entières les cadavres de leurs enfans, et ne pouvoir s'en éloigner ; et d'autres se tirer du lait de la mamelle, et le répandre sur la tombe de ces petites créatures. Si le feu prend à un village, ou il y ait des corps morts, c'est la première chose qu'on met en sureté on se dépouille de ce qu'on a de plus précieux, pour en parer les défunts : de tems en tems on découvre leurs cercueils pour les changer d'habits, et l'on s'arrache les morceaux de la bouche, pour les porter sur leur sépulture, et dans les lieux, où l'on s'imagine que leurs ames se promènent.” Charlevoix, Journal, ut supr. p. 372-3.

strike every place around them with a staff, and to utter such terrible cries as may oblige them to depart.”\*

To be put to death as a captive is, therefore, an exclusion from the Indian paradise; and, indeed, “the souls of all who have died a violent death, even in war, and in the service of their country, are supposed to have no intercourse in the future world with other souls.† They therefore burn the bodies of such persons, or bury them, sometimes before they have expired. They are never put into the common place of interment, and they have no part in that solemn ceremony which the Hurons and the Iroquois observe every ten years, and other nations every eight, of depositing all who have died during that period in a common place of sepulture.”‡

To have been a good hunter, brave in war, fortunate in every enterprise, and victorious over many enemies, are the only titles to enter their abode of bliss. The happiness of it consists in the never-failing supply of game and fish, an eternal spring, and an abundance of every thing which can delight the

\* Journal Historique, ut supr. p. 352. [See Note Q.]

† How different from the opinions of the Scandinavian Nations, from whose paradise all were excluded who ignobly died in the common course of nature. None were admitted to the Hall of Odin but those who had fallen in battle.

‡ Charlevoix, Journal Hist. p. 376-7. This ceremony is called the feast of the dead, or of souls, and is described very minutely by Charlevoix, who calls it “l'action la plus singulière et la plus célèbre de toute la religion des sauvages.”

senses without the labour of procuring it.”\* Such are the pleasures which they anticipate who often return weary and hungry from the chase, who are often exposed to the inclemencies of a wintry sky, and who look upon all labour as an unmanly and degrading employment.

The Chepewyans live between the parallels of lat. 60 and 65 north, a region of almost perpetual snows ; where the ground never thaws, and is so barren as to produce nothing but moss.†

To them, therefore, perpetual verdure and fertility, and waters unincumbered with ice, are voluptuous images. Hence they imagine that, after death, they shall inhabit a most beautiful island in the centre of an extensive lake. On the surface of this lake they will embark in a stone canoe, and if their actions have been generally good, will be borne by a gentle current to their delightful and eternal abode. But if, on the contrary, their bad actions predominate, “the stone canoe sinks, and leaves them up to their chins in the water, to behold and regret the reward enjoyed by the good, and eternally struggling, but with unavailing endeavours, to reach the blissful island, from which they are excluded for ever.”‡

On the other hand, the Arrowauks, or natives of

\* Charlev. ut supr. p. 352-3.

† Mackenzie, 8vo. vol. I. p. 155. 157.

‡ Mackenzie, ut sup. General History of the Fur Trade, 4to. p. cxix. Svo. vol. i. p. 145, 6.

Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Jamaica and Trinidad, would naturally place their enjoyments in every thing that was opposite to the violence of a tropical climate. "They supposed, therefore, that the spirits of good men were conveyed to the pleasant valley of *Coyaba*; a place of indolent tranquillity, abounding with *guavas* and other delicious fruits, cool shades, and murmuring rivulets; in a country where drought never rages, and the hurricane is never felt."<sup>\*</sup>

While these voluptuous people made the happiness of the Future State to consist in these tranquil enjoyments, their fierce enemies, the Charaibes, looked forward to a paradise, in which the brave would be attended by their wives and captives. "The degenerate and the cowardly, they doomed to everlasting banishment beyond the mountains; to unremitting labour in employments that disgrace manhood—a disgrace heightened by the greatest of all afflictions, captivity and servitude among the Arrowauks."<sup>†</sup>

Thus the ideas of the savage, with regard to the peculiar nature of future bliss or woe, are always modified by associations arising from his peculiar situation, his peculiar turn of thought, and the pains and pleasures of the senses. With regard to the question in what their happiness or misery will consist,

<sup>\*</sup> Edwards' West Indies, vol. i. p. 73.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid, vol. i. p. 47



they differ ; but with regard to the existence of a future state, and that it will be a state of retribution for the deeds done in the body, they agree without exception, and their faith is bright and cloudless. “ Whether you are divinities or mortal men,” said an old man of Cuba to Columbus, “ we know not—but if you are men, subject to mortality like ourselves, you cannot be unapprised, that after this life there is another, wherein a very different portion is allotted to good and bad men. If, therefore, you expect to die, and believe, with us, that every one is to be rewarded in a future state, according to his conduct in the present, you will do no hurt to those who do none to you.”\*

This relation is given us by Martyr, and it is sufficient to show, with what exactness the primitive belief has been retained. This man was a savage, but he spoke the language of the purest revelation.

III. On the belief of a God who regulates the affairs of men, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, all religion is founded ; and from these principles, all religious rites are ultimately derived. But there is an obvious distinction to be made, between the tradition of doctrines, and the tradition of those outward observances with which the doctrines were originally connected. The tradition of doc-

\* Herrera, lib. ii. cap. 14. and Martyr, decad. i. lib. iii. apud Edwards, vol. i. p. 72-3. See also Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. Oxon. 1797. vol. 2. p. 357.

trines is oral ; the tradition of ceremonies is ocular. The relation of the most simple fact, as it passes from mouth to mouth, is discoloured and distorted. After a few removals from its source, it becomes so altered as hardly to have any resemblance to its first form. But it is not so with regard to actions. These are retained by the sight, the most faithful and accurate of our senses ;—they are imitated ;—the imitation becomes habitual ;—and habits, when once formed, are with difficulty eradicated. No fact is more certain, or falls more within the experience of every attentive observer of our nature, than that of customs prevailing among nations, for which they are totally unable to account. Even among individuals, habits exist, long after the causes have ceased, to which they owed their origin. The child imitates the actions of the parent, without inquiring, in all cases, into the motives which lead to the observance ; and even if informed of the motives, he may either misconceive or forget them. Here then is the difference between oral and ocular tradition. The doctrine may be lost in the current of ages, while the ceremony is transmitted unimpaired.

*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem  
Quàm quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.*

HOR. A. P. 180.\*

\* —————That which strikes the eye  
Lives long upon the mind : The faithful sight  
Engraves the image with a beam of light.

In endeavouring, therefore, to trace the affinities which a corrupt religion may bear to the pure, if we wish to be successful, we must confine ourselves to its outward observances. This remark applies with peculiar force to the religion of the Indian tribes. They have never possessed the knowledge of letters, and all their religious doctrines have been trusted to the uncertain conveyance of oral tradition. The wild and roving life of the Indian, is at variance with the reception of regular instruction ; and though the parents may be very careful in relating their traditions to their children,\* they must, of necessity, be confused and imperfect.

But supposing them to be ever so exact, we have no certainty that the accounts given of them by travellers are correct. The Indians, it has before been observed, are not communicative on religious subjects ; and they may take pleasure in baffling, or misleading, the curiosity of white men, whom they, in general, look upon with no friendly eye. And with regard to oral traditions, there is greater room, also, for the imagination of the traveller to draw wrong conclusions, and to be influenced in his report by the power of a preconceived system. On the other hand, with regard to religious ceremonies, he has only to give a faithful relation of what he sees ; and

\* See Heckewelder, *Hist. Acc.* p. 99. who mentions the great pains which the Indians take to instil good principles into the minds of their children.

even if the force of some favourite theory, leads him to mingle his comments with his description, a judicious reader is able to separate the one from the other. The application of these principles will save much labour, and give certainty to a subject, which has hitherto been considered as affording nothing but conjecture. We will proceed, then, to consider the external part of the religion of the Indians, and we shall soon see, not only that there is a great uniformity among the rites of nations who are radically different, but, if I am not mistaken, that connexion with the patriarchal religion which might naturally be supposed to exist, if the one be considered as a corruption of the other.

All who have been conversant with the worship of the American tribes, unite in the assertion, that they offer sacrifices and oblations, both to the Great Spirit, and to the subordinate or intermediate Divinities.

To all the inferior deities, whether good or malevolent, the Hurons, the Iroquois, and the Algonkins, make various kinds of offerings. "To propitiate the God of the Waters," says Charlevoix, "they cast into the streams and lakes, tobacco, and birds which they have put to death. In honour of the Sun, and also of inferior Spirits, they consume in the fire a part of every thing they use, as an acknowledgment of the power from which they have de-



rived these possessions. On some occasions, they have been observed to make libations, invoking at the same time, in a mysterious manner, the object of their worship. These invocations they have never explained ; whether it be, that they have in fact no meaning, or that the words have been transmitted by tradition, unaccompanied by their signification, or that the Indians themselves are unwilling to reveal the secret. Strings of wampum, tobacco, ears of corn, the skins, and often the whole carcasses of animals, are seen along difficult or dangerous roads, on rocks, and on the shores of rapids, as so many offerings made to the presiding spirit of the place. In these cases, dogs are the most common victims ;\* and are often suspended alive upon trees by the hinder feet, where they are left to die in a state of madness.”†

What Charlevoix thus affirms, with regard to the Hurons, Iroquois, and Algonkins, is mentioned by Mackenzie, as practised among the Knisteneaux. “ There are stated periods,” says he, “ such as the spring and autumn, when they engage in very long and solemn ceremonies. On these occasions, dogs are offered as sacrifices ; and those which are fat and milk white are preferred. They also make large offerings of their property, whatever it may be. The scene of these ceremonies, is in an open inclo-

\* See Note R.

† Charlevoix, Journal, p. 347-8.

sure, on the bank of a river or lake, and in the most conspicuous situation, in order that such as are passing along, or travelling, may be induced to make their offerings. There is also a particular custom among them, that on these occasions, if any of the tribe, or even a stranger, should be passing by, and be in real want of any thing that is displayed as an offering, he has a right to take it, so that he replaces it with some article he can spare, though it be of far inferior value; but to take or touch any thing wantonly is considered as a sacrilegious act, and highly insulting to the *Great Master of Life*, who is the sacred object of their devotion." At the feasts made by their chiefs, he farther observes, "a small quantity of meat or drink is sacrificed before they begin to eat, by throwing it into the fire, or on the earth."\*

A similar account is given by Adair of the practice among the Creeks, Katábahs, Cherokees, Choc-taws, and other southern Indians. "The Indian women," says he, "always throw a small piece of the fattest of the meat into the fire, when they are eating, and frequently before they begin to eat. They pretend to draw omens from it, and firmly believe that it is the mean of obtaining temporal blessings, and averting temporal evils. The men, both in their summer and winter hunt, sacrifice in the

\* Gen. Hist. of Fur Trade, 4to. p. c. ci. cii. civ. 8vo. vol. i. p. 123-4. 128.

woods a large fat piece of the first buck they kill, and frequently the whole carcass. This they offer up, either as a thanksgiving for the recovery of health, and for their former success in hunting, or that the Divine care and goodness may still be continued to them.”\*

The song of the Lenapé warriors, as they go out to meet their enemy, concludes with the promise of a victim if they return in safety.

O ! Thou Great Spirit above !

\* \* \* \* \*

Give me strength and courage to meet my enemy ;

Suffer me to return again to my children,

To my wife,

And to my relations !

Take pity on me and preserve my life,

And I will make to thee a sacrifice.

Accordingly, “after a successful war,” says Heckewelder, “they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.”†

Loskiel, who has given a minute account of the sacrifices offered by the Lenapé or Delawares, and who is said, by Heckewelder, to have almost exhausted the subject, affirms that they are offered upon all occasions, the most trivial.

\* Adair, Hist. of North American Indians, p. 115. 117.

† Heckewelder, Hist. Acc. of Ind. p. 204. 207. [See Note 8.]

as well as the most important. "They sacrifice to a hare," says he, "because, according to report, the first ancestor of the Indian tribes had that name.\* To indian corn, they sacrifice bear's flesh, but to deer and bears, indian corn ; to the fishes, small pieces of bread in the shape of fishes ; but they positively deny, that they pay any adoration to these subordinate good spirits, and affirm, that they only worship the true God, through them : For God, say they, does not require men to pay offerings or adoration immediately to him. He has, therefore, made known his will in dreams, notifying to them, what beings they have to consider as *Manittoes*, and what offerings to make to them."†—"When a boy dreams, that he sees a large bird of prey, of the size of a man, flying toward him from the north, and saying to him, 'Roast some meat for me,' the boy is then bound to sacrifice the first deer or bear he shoots to this bird. The sacrifice is appointed by an old man, who fixes on the day and place in which it is to be performed. Three days previous to it, messengers are sent to invite the guests. These assemble in some lonely place, in a house large enough to contain three fires. At the middle fire, the old man

\* This may account for the following statement by Charlevoix : " Presque toutes les Nations Algonquines ont donné le nom de *grand Lièvre* au premier Esprit. Quelques uns l'appellent *Michabou* : d'autres *Atahocan*." Journal, p. 344.

† Loskiel, p. 40.



performs the sacrifice. Having sent for twelve strait and supple sticks, he fastens them into the ground, so as to inclose a circular spot, covering them with blankets. He then rolls twelve red-hot stones into the inclosure, each of which is dedicated to one God in particular. The largest belongs, as they say, to the great God in Heaven ; the second, to the sun, or the God of the day ; the third, to the night sun, or the moon ; the fourth, to the earth ; the fifth, to the fire ; the sixth, to the water ; the seventh, to the dwelling or House-God ; the eighth, to indian corn ; the ninth, to the west ; the tenth, to the south ; the eleventh, to the east ; and the twelfth, to the north. The old man then takes a rattle, containing some grains of indian corn, and leading the boy, for whom the sacrifice is made, into the enclosure, throws a handful of tobacco upon the red-hot stones, and as the smoke ascends, rattles his calabash, calling each God by name, and saying : ‘ This boy (naming him) offers unto thee a fine fat deer and a delicious dish of sapan ! Have mercy on him, and grant good luck to him and his family.’ ”\*

All the inhabitants of the West Indies offered sacrifices ; and of these, the Charaibes were accustomed, at the funerals of their friends, to offer some of the captives who had been taken in battle.† I scarcely need advert to the well-known fact, that

\* Loskiel, part i. cap. iii. p. 42-3.

† Edwards’ West-Indies, p. 47. 51.

human sacrifices were offered by the Mexicans. Of these, all the Spanish historians have given the most horrible and disgusting account, and they are described more especially by Bernal Diaz, who was an eye witness, with the most artless and affecting simplicity. Of this practice, however, there are no traces among the present Indian tribes, unless the tormenting of their captives, as Charlevoix seems to intimate, be considered as a sacrifice to the God of war.\*

That the practice of sacrifice, as an expiation for sin, formed a prominent feature in the religion of all the nations of the old world, is a truth too well known to require proof. That it formed a part of the patriarchal religion is equally evident ; and that it must have been of divine institution will, I think, be admitted, after a very little reflection. The earliest instance of worship, recorded in the Holy Scriptures, is the sacrifice offered by Cain and Abel, at a period when no permission had yet been given to eat animal food, and no pretext could have possibly presented itself to the mind of man for taking the life of any of the creatures of God. It is equally inconceivable, that by any deduction of unassisted reason,

\* " Il semble que ce soit des victimes qu'on engraisse pour le sacrifice, et ils sont effectivement immolés au Dieu de la Guerre : la seule difference qu'on met entre ceux et les autres, (the adopted prisoners,) c'est qu'on leur noircit entièrement le visage." *Journal Hist.* p. 246.

the mind could have arrived at the conclusion, that to destroy a part of creation, could be acceptable to the Creator ; much less, that it could be viewed as an act of homage. The difficulty is still greater, when it is considered that this was intended as an expiation for the sins of the offerer. How could the shedding of the blood of an animal be looked upon as an atonement for the offences which man had committed against his maker ? This would have been to make an act at which nature would once have involuntarily shuddered, the expiation of another act which might not in itself be so hurtful or so barbarous.

This reasoning is further strengthened by the next instance of worship recorded in the Bible. When Noah had descended from the Ark, the first act of a religious nature which he performed, was to build an altar and to offer sacrifice. Human reason would have dictated a course of conduct directly opposite ; for it would have told him not to diminish the scanty remnant of life ; especially when the earth was already covered with the victims which had perished in the mighty waste of waters.

But if of divine institution, the question then arises, what was the reason of the institution ? Every intelligent being proposes to himself some end—some design to be accomplished by his actions. What, then, with reverence let it be asked, was the design of God ?

To the Christian the solution of this inquiry is not difficult. He has learned, that in the secret counsels of almighty wisdom, the death of the Messiah was essential for the salvation of man ; that in his death, the first of our race was as much interested as he will be, who will listen to the last stroke of departing time ; that it was necessary, therefore, to establish a representation of this great event as a sign of the future blessing, in order to keep alive the hopes and the expectations of men ; and that this was effected by the slaughter of an innocent animal, whose life was in the blood, and whose blood poured out was the symbol of His death, who offered himself a ransom for the sins of men.

Assuming this as the origin and intent of sacrifice, it is easy to account for its universal prevalence among mankind. Noah, as we have seen, offered a burnt offering immediately after he left the Ark. From him, and his three sons, did their posterity derive the practice ; and we find from the Scriptures, that it prevailed among all the nations, which, from their connexion with the family of Israel, are there incidentally mentioned.

If we turn to profane history, we cannot open a volume without meeting every where the record of sacrifice. The Phenicians, the Ethiopians, the Egyptians, the Chinese, the Persians, the nations in the north of Europe and Asia, the Carthaginians, the Greeks, the Romans, the inhabitants of Gaul



and Britain—in a word, every heathen nation, of which we have any records remaining, constantly offered sacrifice as an expiation for sin. The gradual corruption of the true religion, while it caused the origin of the rite to be forgotten, made no other alteration in the practice than such as regarded the quality of the victim. Human reason must, at all times, have perceived, how inadequate was the slaughter of animals to atone for the sins of mankind. A nobler victim seemed to be demanded ; and it was not to be wondered at, that the blood of men, and even of children, as approaching nearer to innocence, should finally be considered as essential to obtain the grant of pardon.\*

To find the same practice prevailing among all the Indian tribes of America, a practice deriving its origin, not from any dictate of nature, or from the deductions of reason, but resting solely upon the positive institution of God, affords the most triumphant evidence, that they sprang from the common parent of mankind, and that their religion, like that of all other heathen nations, is derived by a gradual deterioration from that of Noah. At the same time, it will be seen, that they are far from having sunk to the lowest round on the scale of corruption. With the exception of the Mexicans, their religious rites

\* See Note T.

have a character of mildness which we should elsewhere seek in vain.

IV. Having seen that sacrifice is practised among the Indians, we are naturally led to consider the question, whether they have among them a priesthood ; and, on this point, the testimony of travellers is somewhat discordant. Mackenzie mentions that the Chepewyans have high priests ;\* yet he describes the public sacrifices of the Knisteneaux, as offered by their chiefs, and the private, by every man in his own cabin, assisted by his most intimate friend.† Charlevoix says, that among the Indians of whom he writes, in public ceremonies, the chiefs are the priests, in private, the father of each family, or where there is none, the most considerable person in the cabin. An aged missionary, he says, who lived among the Ottawas, stated, that with them an old man performed the office of priest.”‡ Loskiel says

\* Mackenzie, 8vo. vol. i. p. 153. “ There are conjurers and high priests, but I was not present at any of their ceremonies.”

† Ibid, p. 124. 128-9.

‡ “ Si l'on peut donner le nom de sacrifices aux offrandes, que ces peuples font à leurs divinités, *les prêtres parmi eux ne sont jamais les jongleurs* : dans les cérémonies publiques, ce sont les chefs, et dans le domestique, ce sont ordinairement les pères de famille, où à leur défaut les plus considérable de la cabanne.” *Journal Hist.* p. 364.

“ Un ancien Missionnaire (le père Claude Allouez, jésuite) qui a beaucoup vécu avec les Outaouais a écrit que, parmi ces sauvages, un viellard fait l'office de prêtre dans les festins, dont je viens de parler ; qu'il commence par remercier les esprits du succès de la chasse ; qu'ensuite un autre prend un pain de petun, le rompt en deux, et le jette dans le feu.” *Ibid*, p. 350.

of the Lenapé, or Delaware Indians, that "they have neither priests regularly appointed, nor temples. At general and solemn sacrifices, the oldest men perform the offices of priests; but in private parties, each man bringing a sacrifice is priest himself. Instead of a temple, a large dwelling-house is fitted up for the purpose." He afterwards speaks of the place of offering, under the name of "the house of sacrifice," and mentions it as being "in a lonely place."\*

On the other hand, Bartram, in his account of the Southern tribes, says, "There is in every town, or tribe, a High Priest, with several inferior, or junior priests, called by the white people jugglers, or conjurers."† To the same purpose, Adair asserts, that they "have their High Priests, and others of a religious order." "Ishtohoollo," he observes, "is the name of all their priestly order, and their pontifical office descends by inheritance to the eldest."‡

Notwithstanding this diversity, however, the difference is more in appearance than in reality. Various meanings attached to the same words, in consequence of arbitrary associations, may produce a diversity of description. If a priest be one whose exclusive duty it is to celebrate the rites of religion,

\* Loskiel, p. 39, 40, 42. ad calc. A house of sacrifice is only another name for temple.

† Bartram, Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, &c. Lond. 1792. 8vo. p. 495.

‡ Adair, Hist. North American Indians, p. 80, 81.

then it must be admitted that a priesthood exists among the Indians ; for those who deny that they have priests, allow that in their public sacrifices the chiefs are the only persons authorized to officiate. The only difference, then, lies in this, whether the priesthood be or be not connected with the office of the magistrate.

Among Christians, as among the Jews, the priesthood is distinct from the civil authority ; but previous to the separation of the family of Aaron, these two offices were generally united. Melchizedeck was both king of Salem and priest of the most High God. Jethro was, at the same time, priest and prince of Midian ; and Abraham himself, who is called a prince, performed the sacerdotal functions. We find this union of the regal and sacerdotal characters existing among heathen nations. Homer describes the aged Pylian King as performing religious rites ;\* and Virgil tells of the Monarch of Delos, who was both priest and king :

“Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos.”†

Among the Creeks, and other Southern Indians, a monarchical form of government seems to prevail ; among the Northern Indians, a republican. In both, the sacerdotal office may be united with civil authority, and therefore partake of its peculiar character. Among the one, it may be hereditary ;

\* *Qdyss.* lib. iii. l. 418-460. † *Æneid.* lib. iii. l. 80.



among the other, elective. If this be not sufficient to reconcile the discordant accounts, we are bound, I think, to respect the united testimony of Charlevoix and Loskiel, in preference to any other, as they do not appear to have had any system to serve, which might give a bias to their statements. And if this be so, it will be seen that the Religion of the Indians approaches much nearer to the patriarchal, than to that of the Jews. Their public sacerdotal offices are performed by their chiefs, and in their private, the head of every family is its priest.

V. But there is another office, which Carver, Bartram, and others, have confounded with the priesthood, which exists among all the Indian Tribes, and concerning which, there is no diversity in the statement of travellers. To this class of men, the French Missionaries gave the name of *Jongleurs*, whence the English have derived that of Jugglers or Conjurers.\* To use the definition of Charlevoix, they are those servants of their Gods, whose duty it is to announce their wishes, and to be their interpreters to men:† or, in the language of Volney, those “whose trade it is, to expound dreams, and to nego-

\* See Note U.

† “Ils (the *Jongleurs*) ne sont néanmoins les ministres de ces Dieux prétendus, que pour annoncer aux hommes leurs volontés, et pour être leurs interprètes : car, si l’on peut donner le nom de sacrifices aux offrandes que ces peuples font à leurs Divinités, les *prêtres* parmi eux ne sont jamais les *Jongleurs*.” *Journal Hist.* p. 363-4.

tiate between the Manitto, and the votary.”\* “The Jongleurs of Canada,” says Charlevoix, “boast that by means of the good spirits whom they consult, they learn what is passing in the most remote countries, and what is to come to pass at the most distant period of time; that they discover the origin and nature of the most secret disorders, and obtain the hidden method of curing them; that they discern the course to be pursued in the most intricate affairs; that they learn to explain the obscurest dreams, to give success to the most difficult negotiations, and to render the Gods propitious to warriors and hunters.” “I have heard,” he adds, “from persons of the most undoubted judgment and veracity, that when these impostors shut themselves up in their sweating stoves, which is one of their most common preparations for the performance of their sleight of hand, they differ in no respect from the descriptions given by the poets, of the priestesses of Apollo, when seated on the Delphic Tripod. They have been seen to fall into convulsions, to assume tones of voice, and to perform actions, which were seemingly superior to human strength, and which inspired with an unconquerable terror, even the most prejudiced spectators.” Their predictions were sometimes so surprisingly verified, that Charlevoix

\* View of the soil and climate, &c. p. 417.

seems firmly to have believed, that they had a real intercourse with the father of lies.\*

This account of the Jongleurs of Canada, is confirmed by Mr. Heckewelder, in his late work on the Indian Tribes. "They are a set," he observes, "of professional impostors, who, availing themselves of the superstitious prejudices of the people, acquire the name and reputation of men of superior knowledge, and possessed of supernatural powers. As the Indians in general believe in witchcraft, and ascribe to the arts of sorcerers many of the disorders with which they are afflicted in the regular course of nature, this class of men has arisen among them, who pretend to be skilled in a certain occult science, by means of which they are able, not only to cure natural diseases, but to counteract or destroy the enchantments of wizzards or witches, and expel evil Spirits."†

"There are jugglers of another kind, in general old men and women—who get their living by pretending to supernatural knowledge—to bring down rain when wanted, and to impart good luck to bad hunters. In the summer of 1799, a most uncommon drought happened in the Muskingum country. An old man was applied to by the women to bring down rain, and, after various ceremo-

\* Charlevoix, Journal, p. 361-2.

† Heckewelder, Hist. Account, ut supr. p. 224.

nies, declared that they should have rain enough. The sky had been clear for nearly five weeks, and was equally clear when the Indian made this declaration. But about four in the afternoon, the horizon became overcast, and, without any thunder or wind, it began to rain, and continued to do so till the ground became thoroughly soaked. Experience had doubtless taught him to observe that certain signs in the sky or in the water were the forerunners of rain; yet the credulous multitude did not fail to ascribe it to his supernatural power.”\* “It is incredible to what a degree the superstitious belief in witchcraft operates on the mind of the Indian. The moment his imagination is struck with the idea that he is bewitched, he is no longer himself. Of this extraordinary power of their conjurers, of the causes which produce it, and the manner in which it is acquired, they have not a very definite idea. The sorcerer, they think, makes use of some deadening substance, which he conveys to the person he means to ‘strike,’ in a manner which they can neither understand nor describe. The person thus ‘stricken,’ is immediately seized with an unaccountable terror. His spirits sink, his appetite fails, he is disturbed in his sleep, he pines and wastes away, or a fit of sickness seizes him, and he dies at last, a miserable victim to the workings of his own imagination.”†

\* Heckewelder, *Hist. Acc. of Indians*, ut supr. p. 229—231.

† *Ibid*, p. 232-3.



A remarkable instance of this belief in the power of these sorcerers, and of the wonderful effects of imagination, is related by Hearne, as having occurred during his residence among the northern or Chepewyan Indians. Matonabee, one of their chiefs, had requested him to kill one of his enemies, who was at that time several hundred miles distant. "To please this great man," says he, "and not expecting that any harm could possibly arise from it, I drew a rough sketch of two human figures on a piece of paper, in the attitude of wrestling; in the hand of one of them I drew the figure of a bayonet, pointing to the breast of the other. 'This,' said I to Matonabee, pointing to the figure which was holding the bayonet, 'is I, and the other is your enemy.' Opposite to those figures I drew a pine tree, over which I placed a large human eye, and out of the tree projected a human hand. This paper I gave to Matonabee, with instructions to make it as public as possible. The following year when he came to trade, he informed me that the man was dead. Matonabee assured me, that the man was in perfect health when he heard of my design against him, but almost immediately afterward became quite gloomy, and, refusing all kinds of sustenance, in a very few days died."\*

Bartram, in his account of the manners and habits

\* Hearne, *Journey to the Northern Ocean*. Dublin, 1796, 8vo. p. 221. Note.

of the tribes which inhabit Florida and the south of the United States, relates, as their general belief, that "their seer has communion with powerful invisible spirits, who have a share in the government of human affairs, as well as of the elements. His influence is so great, as frequently to turn back an army when within a day's journey of their enemy, after a march of several hundred miles." "Indeed," he adds, "the predictions of these men have surprised many people. They foretel rain or drought, pretend to bring rain at pleasure, cure diseases, exercise witchcraft, invoke or expel evil spirits, and even assume the power of directing thunder and lightning."\*

The power, then, of these impostors, is supposed to consist—in the miraculous cure of diseases—the procuring of rain, and other temporal blessings, in the same supernatural manner—the miraculous infliction of punishment upon the subjects of their displeasure—and the foretelling of future events. It will immediately be seen, that these are, in fact, the characteristics of the prophetic office; those, I mean, which are external, which produce, therefore, a lasting impression upon the senses of men, and from the force of ocular tradition, would naturally be pretended to, even after the power of God was withdrawn.

\* Bartram, Travels, ut supr. p. 495.

That true prophets had such power, is evident from the whole tenor of Sacred History. On their power of predicting future events, it is not necessary to dwell; but it will be seen, that there is a striking analogy between the pretensions of the Indian impostors, and the miracles wrought by the prophets. We have seen, that the former assume the power of curing or inflicting diseases by supernatural means. We find the prophets curing or inflicting the most inveterate diseases, by a word, by a touch, by washing, and other means naturally the most inadequate.\* We have seen that the Indian impostors pretend to foretel drought or rain. So, Elijah the Tishbite said to Ahab, "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word."† And again, the same prophet, when there was no appearance of change in the heavens, said to the King, "Get thee up, eat and drink, for there is a sound of abundance of rain."‡ We have seen, that among the Indians, the conjurers pretend to inflict punishment on their enemies by supernatural means. So we read of a true prophet, that he commanded fire to descend from heaven and consume the soldiers who were sent by the King of Israel to take him.§

But I wish to direct your attention more especially

\* Thus Naaman was cured of his leprosy by Elisha, and the same disease inflicted by the prophet on his servant Gehazi. 2 Kings, v.

† 1 Kings, xvii. 1.      ‡ 1 Kings, xviii. 41.      § 2 Kings, i. 10. 12.

to a very early period of Sacred History, while the Gentiles had not yet entirely apostatized from the worship of the true God, and therefore were not yet wholly cut off from the patriarchal church. In the history of Abraham and Abimelech, we have an instance of the power which prophets possessed of obtaining blessings for others. "Now, therefore," said God to Abimelech, "restore the man his wife : *for he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live.*"\* The same power is attributed to Job, who was probably a descendant of Esau ; consequently, not one of the chosen family ; and, therefore, a prophet among the Gentiles. "The Lord said to Eliphaz the Temanite, My wrath is kindled against thee and against thy two friends.—Therefore take unto you now seven bullocks and seven rams, and go to my servant Job, and offer up for yourselves a burnt-offering, and my servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept : lest I deal with you after your folly."†

Traces of the same power are to be found in the History of Balaam, the prophet of Midian. When the Israelites, on their passage from Egypt, were passing through the country of Moab, the King of the Moabites, alarmed for his personal safety, sent for the prophet to curse them. "Come now, therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people, for they are

\* Gen. xx. 7.      † Job. xlii. 7. 8.



too mighty for me; peradventure, I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land: *for I wot, that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed.* And the elders of Moab, and the elders of Midian, departed *with the rewards of divination in their hand*; and they came unto Balaam and spake unto him the words of Balak. And he said unto them, lodge here this night, and I will bring you word again, as Jehovah shall speak unto me.—And God said unto Balaam, thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed.”\* Here is not only a proof of the power ascribed to the prophet by the nations among whom he dwelt, but a recognition, by God himself, of the authority of Balaam to bless and curse in his name. And here, if I mistake not, we may observe the connecting link between the power of true prophets, and the arts practised by the false, after the divine influence was withdrawn. The elders of Moab and of Midian, it is said, “*departed with the rewards of divination in their hand.*” The inference is inevitable, that Balaam, who undoubtedly had intercourse with the true God, was at times deprived of the divine influence, and that under a sense of that deprivation, he had recourse to the arts of divination. Of this there is farther evidence. “Surely,” he exclaims,

\* Numb. xxii. 6, 7, 8. 12.

in one of his sublime prophecies, “there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel.” And it is subsequently stated, that “when Balaam saw that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel, he went not, as at other times, to seek for enchantments.”\* When he could not obtain authority from God to curse Israel, he had recourse, in the depravity of his heart, to these unhallowed incantations ; but finding that it was in vain to contend with the determination of the Almighty, he resigned himself at length to the divine influence, and converted his intended curse into a blessing. “How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob ! and thy tabernacles, O Israel !—Blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee.”†

In proportion, then, as Idolatry increased, the prophetic spirit in the patriarchal church was gradually withdrawn. While the true God was worshipped, even though in absurd connexion with Idols, the divine influence was sometimes communicated. But being gradually more and more frequently denied, the prophets had recourse to the superstitious observances of divination and judicial astrology. And as Idolatry, in its downward course, at length lost sight of the Creator, and worshipped only the creatures, so the prophetic office degenerated into the arts by which impostors preyed upon the superstition of the ignorant.

\* Numb. xxiv. 1.

† Ibid, 5. 9.

I have now, gentlemen, finished the view which I proposed to take of the Religion of the Indians. I am sensible that it is very imperfect, but enough has been said, I hope, to show the analogy which it bears to the religion of the patriarchal ages, and its wonderful uniformity, when considered as prevailing among nations so remote and unconnected.

It has already been observed, however, that their religious system can afford no clue by which to trace them to any particular nation of the old world. On a subject so obscure as the origin of nations, there is great danger of expatiating in conjectures. In fact, the view here taken, in some measure cuts off these conjectures, by tracing the Aborigines of America, to a higher source than has usually been assigned to them. If the opinion I have advanced be true, it will, I think, appear rational to believe, that the Indians are a primitive people ;—that, like the Chinese, they must have been among the earliest emigrants of the descendants of Noah ;—that, like that singular nation, they advanced so far beyond the circle of human society, as to become entirely separated from all other men ;—and that, in this way, they preserved a more distinct and homogeneous character than is to be found in any other portion of the Globe. Whether they came immediately to this western continent, or whether they arrived here by gradual progression, can never be ascertained, and is, in fact, an inquiry of little moment. It is

probable, however, that, like the Northern hordes who descended upon Europe, and who constituted the basis of its present population, their numbers were great ; and that from one vast reservoir, they flowed onward in successive surges, wave impelling wave, till they had covered the whole extent of this vast continent. At least, this hypothesis may account for the uniform character of their religion, and for the singular fact which has lately been illustrated by a learned member of the American Philosophical Society, that their languages form a separate class in human speech, and that, in their plans of thought, the same system extends from the coasts of Labrador to the extremity of Cape Horn.\*

But, turning from speculations which are rendered sublime by their shadowy form, and immeasurable magnitude, I shall conclude a discourse which, I fear, has become already tedious, by remarks of a more practical, and, I would hope, of a more useful nature.

We have seen that, like all other nations unblessed with the light of Christianity, the Indians are idolators ; but their idolatry is of the mildest character, and has departed less than among any other people from the form of primeval truth.—Their belief in a future state is clear and distinct, debased only by

\* See Note W.



those corporeal associations which proceed from the constitutional operations of our nature, and from which even Christians, therefore, are not totally exempt—They retain among them the great principle of expiation for sin, without which all religion would be unavailing—And they acknowledge, in all the common occurrences of life, and even in their very superstitions, the overruling power of Divine Providence, to which they are accustomed to look up with an implicit confidence, which might often put to shame the disciples of a purer faith.

Provided, then, that their suspicions respecting every gift bestowed by the hands of white men, can be overcome, the comparative purity of their religion renders it so much the easier to propagate among them the Gospel of Salvation.\* In this view, is it possible for the benevolent heart to restrain the rising wish, that the scanty remnant of this unfortunate race may be brought within the verge of civilized life, and made to feel the influence, the cheering and benign influence, of Christianity? Is it not to be wished, that the God whom they ignorantly worship, may be declared to them, and that, together with the practices they have so long preserved, may be united that doctrine which alone can illumine what is obscure, and unravel what is intricate? If this be desirable, it must be done quickly, or the

\* See Note X.

opportunity will be for ever lost. Should our prejudices prevent it, we must remember that their faults will be obscured, and their virtues brightened, by the tints of time. Posterity will think of them, more in pity than in anger, and will blame us for the little regard which has been paid to their welfare.

Hapless nations!—Like the mists which are exhaled by the scorching radiance of your summer's sun, ye are fast disappearing from the earth. But there is a Great Spirit above, who, though for wise purposes he causes you to disappear from the earth, still extends his protecting care to you, as well as to the rest of his creatures.—'There is a country of Souls, a happier, and better country, which will be opened, we may charitably hope, to you, as well as to the other children of Adam.—'There is the atoning blood of the Redeemer, which was shed for you, as well as the rest of mankind; the efficacy of which, you have unwittingly continued to plead; and which may be extended, in its salutary influence, even to those who have never called on, because they have never heard, THE NAME OF THE SON OF GOD.

## NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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### NOTE A.

Thus, Hearne says, "Religion has not as yet begun to dawn among the Northern Indians—I never found any of them that had the least idea of futurity." "Matonabbee, a man of as clear ideas in other matters as any that I ever saw, always declared to me, that neither he, nor any of his countrymen, had an idea of a future state." *Journey to the Northern Ocean*. Dublin, 1796, 8vo. p. 343—4. Yet Mackenzie affirms, that they believe in a future state of rewards and punishments, and gives a very particular account of their belief. "They are," he says, "superstitious in the extreme. I never observed that they had any particular form of religious worship; but as they believe in a good and evil spirit, and a state of future rewards and punishments, they cannot be devoid of religious impressions. At the same time, they manifest a decided unwillingness to make any communications on the subject." This last fact will account for the declaration of Matonabbee; and also for the concealment of their forms of worship from the view of Mackenzie. Mackenzie, *Gen. Hist.* 8vo. vol. 1. p. 145. 156. Mackenzie corrects several other erroneous statements made by Hearne.

Colden, speaking of the five nations, says: "It is certain they have no kind of public worship, and I am told they have no radical word to express God, but use a compound word, signifying the Preserver, Sustainer, or Master of the Universe; neither could I ever learn what sentiments they have of a future existence." Colden, *Introduction to Hist. of Five Indian Nations of Canada*, p. 15. On the other hand, Charlevoix assures us, that "parmi ces peuples, qu'on a prétendu n'avoir aucune idée de religion, ni de Divinité, presque tout paroît l'objet d'un culte religieux, ou du moins y avoir quelque rapport." *Journal*, p. 348. And Heckewelder affirms, that "Habitual devotion to the Great First Cause, and a strong feeling of gratitude for the benefits which He confers, is one of the prominent traits which characterize the mind of the untutored Indian." *Hist. Acc.* p. 84. "Another difficulty I had to encounter," says Adair, "*was the secrecy and closeness of the Indians as to their own affairs*, and their prying disposition into those of others." Adair, *N. Am. Indians*, preface. The testimony of so respectable a writer as Colden would have great weight, if he had spoken from his own

personal knowledge ; but he confessedly derived his opinions of the Indian character from the testimony of others. What he has said, therefore, cannot avail against the united testimony of Charlevoix, Adair, and Heckewelder.

## NOTE B.

"Gomara et Jean De Lery font descendre tous les Amériquains des Cananéens chassés de la terre promise par Josué."—Charlevoix, Dissertation sur l'origine des Amériquains, prefixed to his Journal d'un Voyage, &c. Histoire de la Nouvelle France, tom. 3 p. 4. Paris, 1744, 4to.

"Lescarbot panche un peu plus vers le sentiment de ceux qui ont transporté dans le Nouveau Monde les Cananéens chassés de la terre promise par Josué. Il y trouve au moins quelque vraisemblance en ce que ces peuples, aussi bien que les Amériquains, avoient la coutume de faire sauter leurs enfans par-dessus le feu, en invoquant leurs idoles, et de manger la chair humaine." Ibid, p. 10.

"En 1642. Grotius publia un petit ouvrage *in-quarto* sous ce titre : *De origine gentium Americanarum*.—Si on en croit le docte Hollandois, à l'exception de l'Yucatan, et de quelques autres provinces voisines, dont il fait une classe à part, toute l'Amérique Septentrionale a été peuplée par les Norvégiens.—Ce qui l'oblige de mettre à part l'Yucatan, c'est l'usage de la Circoncision, dont il s'est mis dans la tête qu'on a trouvé des traces dans cette province, et une prétendue tradition ancienne des habitans, qui portoit, que leurs ancêtres avoient été sauvés des flots de la mer ; ce qui a fait croire à quelques-uns, ajoute-t-il, qu'ils étoient issus des Hébreux. Il réfute néanmoins cette opinion, avec les mêmes argumens à peu près dont s'est servi Breverood, (Breerwood,) et il estime, avec Dom Pierre Martyr d'Anglerie, que les premiers qui peuplèrent l'Yucatan, furent des Ethiopiens jettés sur cette côte par une tempête, ou par quelque autre accident. Il juge même que ces Ethiopiens étoient Chrétiens, ce qu'il infere d'une espèce de Baptême usité dans le pays."—Ibid. p. 12, 13.

In this dissertation, Charlevoix, has given a very judicious and interesting summary of the several theories, which had been formed, at the time he wrote, respecting the peopling of America. As the writings of their respective authors are mentioned in chronological order, it may be called, in fact, the annals of these opinions, up to the date of his work : (1744.) In contemplating their extravagance and inconsistency, we scarcely know whether to smile or to mourn most, at these results of learned imagination.

In 1767, was published at Amsterdam, a French work, entitled, "*Essai sur cette question, quand et comment l'Amérique a-t-elle été peuplée d'hommes et d'animaux ?*" par E. B. d'E." The author professes respect



for religion ; but he is either an Infidel in disguise, or a very sorry Christian ; and he has a smattering of learning, just extensive and superficial enough, to intoxicate the brain. He maintains, that the deluge was of very limited extent ; that the Chinese and the Scythians are the descendants of Abel ; that the Egyptians and Ethiopians are the posterity of Cain ; that the Negro complexion was the stigma of his punishment ; that the Greeks, Thracians, Celts, and ancient inhabitants of Italy, were Antediluvians ; and hence, he concludes, that the Aborigines of America are derived from as high an origin. For the establishment of this theory, which occupies a quarto volume of 600 pages, he has formed a vast apparatus of astronomy and geology, of history and philology, in which the wrecks of every thing that had been considered by the learned as established, and no longer controvertible, appear “ nantes in gurgite vasto.”

In 1810, the excellently learned professor Vater published at Leipzig his “ Inquiry on the origin of the American population,” in which he minutely considers every hypothesis that has ever been formed or maintained on this interesting subject. It will doubtless give pleasure to the public, to be informed, that Mr. Duponceau is now engaged in translating this valuable work, which is undoubtedly the best that has ever been written on the subject.

#### NOTE C.

I have excluded the Karalit, because it is generally admitted, that the Esquimaux derive their origin from Groenland, and are a distinct race from all the other inhabitants of this continent. “ In all the North American territories,” says Heckewelder, “ bounded to the North and East by the Atlantic ocean, and to the South and West by the river Mississippi, and the possessions of the English Hudson’s Bay Company, there appear to be but four principal languages ; branching out, it is true, into various dialects, but all derived from one or the other of the four mother tongues, some of which extend even beyond the Mississippi, and perhaps as far as the rocky mountains. These four languages are, 1. The Karalit. 2. The Iroquois. 3. The Lenapé. 4. The Floridian. Mr. Duponceau has mentioned, in his report prefixed to Mr. Heckewelder’s history, that the language of the *Osages* has been found, from a vocabulary by Dr. Murray of Louisville, to be a dialect of the Iroquois. “ By means of this vocabulary,” says he, “ we have acquired a knowledge of the wide-spread extent of the family of Indian nations of Iroquois origin, which, not long ago, were thought to exist only in the vicinity of the great lakes, while we are enabled to trace them even to the banks of the Missouri.” p. xxxvii.

Charlevoix and Loskiel give substantially the same account. “ Dans cette étendue de pays,” says the former, “ qu’on appelle proprement la Nouvelle

France, qui n'a de bornes au nord que du côté de la baie de Hudson, qui n'en a point d'autre à l'est que la mer, les colonies Angloises au sud, la Louysiane ausud-est, et les terres des Espagnols à l'ouest ; dans cette étendue dis-je, de pays, il n'y a que trois langues-meres dont toutes les autres sont dérivées. Ces langues sont, la Siouse, l'Algonquine, et la Huronne." *Journal*, p. 183. The Huron, is the same with the Iroquois ; and the Algonquin, only another name for the Lenapé or Delaware. With regard to the third language (la Siouse) Charlevoix confesses he knew little or nothing.

"It appears very probable," says Loskiel, "that the Delaware and Iroquois are the principal languages spoken throughout the known part of North America, Terra Labrador excepted, and that all others are dialects of them. Our missionaries at least, who were particularly attentive to this subject, have never met with any which had not some similitude with either one or the other : But the Delaware language bears no resemblance to the Iroquois." *Hist. of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America*, part 1. ch. 2. p. 18. Lond. 1794, 8vo.

We have no reason, I think, to doubt the statement of the Roman and Moravian missionaries, who have made these languages their study, and who had no object in attempting to trace affinities where none existed. In the statements of Charlevoix and Heckewelder, the Spanish territories are cautiously excluded ; doubtless because of the great number of radical languages which are said to exist there. For the same reason, in Loskiel's account, the term *North America* is to be understood in contradistinction to *Middle*, as well as *South America* ; since the Moravian missionaries could have had no knowledge of the Indian languages within the Spanish dominions.—I wish to be understood as speaking with the same reservation ; on account of the express testimony given to this surprising fact by the most respectable witnesses. "Le nombre de ces langues," says the Baron Von Humboldt, speaking of the languages of Mexico, "est au delà de vingt, dont quatorze ont déjà des grammaires et des dictionnaires assez complets." After enumerating them, he proceeds to observe, "Il paroît que la plupart de ces langues, loin d'être des dialectes d'une seule, (comme quelques auteurs l'ont faussement avancé,) sont au moins aussi différentes les unes des autres que l'est le Grec de l'Allemand, ou le François du Polonois : c'est du moins le cas des sept langues de la Nouvelle-Espagne, dont je possède les vocabulaires. Cette variété d'idiomes que parlent les peuples du Nouveau Continent, et que, sans la moindre exagération ON PEUT PORTER A PLUSIEURS CENTAINES, présente un phénomène bien frappant, surtout si on les compare au peu de langues qu'offrent l'Asie et l'Europe." *Essai politique sur le Royaume de Nouvelle Espagne*, tom. 1. p. 378. Paris, 1811. 8vo.

It is, indeed, a striking phenomenon ; and it becomes still more so when compared with the fact, that in the United States and British America, there are

*only four radical languages, even including the language of Groenland.* If, however, it should be true, as Humboldt thinks, that there are several hundreds of primitive American languages, it would only afford stronger proof of the truth of the position, in support of which the existence of three radical languages has been mentioned; namely, that the Indians are not the descendants of the twelve tribes.

I feel very great diffidence in appearing to call in question so high an authority, yet I cannot help suggesting the probability, that the more our knowledge of Indian languages is extended, the greater will be the affinities we shall discover; and that many will be found to be related, which are now considered as totally distinct.

Even in written language, to trace etymologies is, in many cases, a difficult task; and requires an extensive knowledge of the philosophy of human speech. But this difficulty is immeasurably increased, when languages are merely oral, and are represented in foreign characters, not by the natives themselves, but by persons who are often ignorant of all other tongues but their own, who are confessedly unacquainted with that which they endeavour to write, and whose power of discriminating sounds is not always the most acute.

When a language is written, the writing continues unaltered through all the changes of pronunciation; when it is only spoken, the deviations from the original become rapid and various, in proportion as the imperfections are more or less extensive, of the bodily organs and the mental faculties.

As, therefore, languages merely oral tend inevitably to corruption, so the attempts made to reduce them to writing, are subject to corresponding imperfections. The alphabets in which they are represented, may vary in themselves, and be severally incompetent to convey an exact idea of their powers. Persons who use the same alphabet may employ different combinations of letters to represent the same sounds. "I have frequently found," says the celebrated circumnavigator, Captain Cook, "that the *same words*, written down by *two or more persons* from the mouth of the *same native*, on being compared together, differed not a little." *Voyages*, vol. 2. p. 521. Lond. 1785. 4to. And even if the sounds be perfectly represented, we know, from our own experience, the confusion, with regard to etymology, which would arise from making pronunciation the standard of orthography. The anomalies of English pronunciation are so great, that if we were to write it as it is spoken, to trace its etymologies would require the powers of an Œdipus.

Under such disadvantages, we certainly ought to be cautious not to form hasty opinions with regard to the affinities of Indian languages. Our means of information are, at present, too limited, and we must patiently wait the result of those inquiries, which, though commenced too late, have,

at length, been happily begun by the American Philosophical Society. The collection of information from distant and independent sources, will lead, by a gradual approximation, to the most accurate results ; and we shall probably be able to apply to the subject, the remarks of the great lexicographer of our language, that in proportion "as books are multiplied, the various dialects of the same country will always be observed to grow fewer and less different."

Perhaps I ought not to dismiss this subject without observing, that Mr. Jefferson long ago made the same remark as M. Von Humboldt, with regard to the great number of American languages, in his Notes on Virginia. "Arranging them," says he, "under the radical ones to which they may be palpably traced ; and doing the same by those of the red men of Asia, there will be found, probably, twenty in America for one in Asia, of those radical languages, so called, because, if they were ever the same, they have lost all resemblance to one another. A separation into dialects may be the work of a few ages only, but for two dialects to recede from one another till they have lost all vestiges of their common origin, must require an immense course of time ; perhaps, not less than many people give to the age of the earth. A greater number of those radical changes of language having taken place among the red men of America, proves them of greater antiquity than those of Asia."—Notes on Virginia, Query 11. Aborigines.

The acute and scientific author might have contented himself with stating the fact, and have spared the slur upon Revelation. It is by no means certain, that the same phenomenon does not exist in Asia. The languages spoken in the immediate neighbourhood of the Caucasian mountains, have little more in common than their geographical situation. "Except the Armenian and Georgian," say the Quarterly Reviewers after Adelung, "*they are scarcely ever employed in writing ; and, principally perhaps from this cause, they exhibit as great a diversity in the space of a few square miles, as those of many other nations do, in as many thousands.*" Q. R. vol. x. p. 285. Rev. of the Mithridates. But admitting that it is confined to America, is there no way of solving the difficulty, but by attacking the Scriptures ? And if it be inexplicable, shall we surrender all the stupendous evidences of Divine Revelation, because we are unable to account for a fact which is comparatively insignificant ? This is a kind of minute philosophy, unworthy of so distinguished a name, which can be compared only to the calculations of the Canon Recupero in Brydone, who sought to determine the world's age by enumerating the lavas of *Ætna*.

#### NOTE D.

There may be an affinity among languages in two ways ; in etymology, and in grammatical construction. Where there are etymological affini-



ties, there will of course be a similarity in grammatical forms. On the other hand, languages may be entirely different as to etymology, and yet similar in grammatical construction. The question, with regard to the descent of the Indians from the Hebrews, must rest upon both these affinities; for although resemblances in grammatical construction will not prove a common origin, yet *differences in grammar* afford the strongest evidence of the converse of the proposition.

### ETYMOLOGY.

TABLE I.—*Delaware, and Iroquois words of the Onondago dialect, from Zeisberger.*

| Lenapé or Delaware. |            | Iroquois, (Onond. dialect.) | Hebrew.   |       |
|---------------------|------------|-----------------------------|-----------|-------|
| GOD,                | Patamáwos, | Nioh,                       | Elohim,   | אלהים |
| SPIRIT,             | Mannitto,  | Otcon,                      | Rúach,    | רוח   |
| MAN,                | Lenno,     | Etschinak,                  | Ish,      | איש   |
| WOMAN,              | Ochqueu,   | Echro,                      | Ishá,     | אשה   |
| TO DIE,             | Angeln,    | Yaiché-ye,                  | Mut-th,   | מרת   |
|                     |            | Yawo-hé-ye,                 |           |       |
| TO EAT,             | Mitzin,    | Wauntecóni,                 | Achál,    | אכל   |
| FLESH,              | Oyós,      | Owáchra,                    | Ba-sár,   | בשר   |
| FISH,               | Namæs,     | Otschiónta,                 | Dag,      | דג    |
| BONE,               | Wochgán,   | Öschtiéhnta,*               | Ngé-tsem, | עצם   |
| A CHILD,            | Amemens,   | Ixháa,                      | Nángar,   | נער   |

It may not be amiss to make some remarks upon the pronunciation of this and the following specimens. In Zeisberger's vocabulary, the powers of the German Alphabet are employed to express the pronunciation of Indian words. *Ch* has the guttural sound of the Greek *X*. When the consonants are doubled, it is merely to denote that the preceding vowel is short, as *a* in *man*. *I* and *j* before a vowel have the power of *y* which I have therefore in most cases taken the liberty to substitute. *Sch* is equivalent to the English *sh*. The apostrophe after *n k* and *s* denotes the contraction of a vowel, as *n'pommauchi*, for *ni pommauchi*. *Que* and *ke* differ; the former being pronounced like *kwe*. *W* before a vowel, as in English. In representing the Hebrew in English letters, I have followed the points, which give, I am inclined to believe, the traditional representation of the original vowel sounds. These remarks will apply to all the specimens, excepting those from *Adair*, of which I can say nothing.

\* *Cherokee, Kóra, according to Adair.*



TABLE II.

NUMERALS.—1. *The Onondago dialect of the Iroquois, from Zeiberger.* 2. *The Lenapé, or Delaware, from Zeiberger.* (Transactions, Hist. and Lit. of Am. Phil. Soc. nt sup. p. 374.) 3. *The Floridian, being the Cherokee, Chickesaw and Choctaw, and Creek or Muskohgee, from Adair's Hist. p. 78.*

| Iroquois. |            | Lenapé.    |  | Floridian. |                |                | Hebrew.    |            |      |
|-----------|------------|------------|--|------------|----------------|----------------|------------|------------|------|
|           | Onondago.  |            |  | Cherokee.  | Chic. & Choct. | Creek or Musk. | Masc.      | Fem.       | Fem. |
| ONE,      | Skata,     | Ngutti,    |  | Soquo,     | Chephpha,      | Hommai,        | Echád,     | Achath,    | אחד  |
| TWO,      | Telenè,    | Nischa,    |  | Tahre,     | Toogálo,       | Hokróle,       | Shená-yim, | Shetá-yim, | שנים |
| THREE,    | Achsó,     | Nacha,     |  | Choeh,     | Tootchina,     | Tootchina,     | Shetosháh, | Shalósh,   | שלוש |
| FOUR,     | Ga-yé-rí,  | Newo,      |  | Nankke,    | Oosta,         | Ohsta,         | Arba-ngá,  | Arbáng,    | ארבע |
| FIVE,     | Wisk,      | Palenach,  |  | Ishe,      | Tathábe,       | Chakápe,       | Chamishá,  | Chamesh,   | חמש  |
| SIX,      | Achak,     | Gutiasch,  |  | Sooátre,   | Hannáble,      | Eephápe,       | Shishá,    | Shesh,     | שש   |
| SEVEN,    | Tschóótak, | Nischasch, |  | Karekóge,  | Untoogálo,     | Hootophage,    | Shib-ngá,  | Shébang,   | שבע  |
| EIGHT,    | Tékino,    | Chasch,    |  | Sulnáyira, | Untoochina,    | Cheeneépa,     | Shemoná,   | Shemonéh,  | שבעה |
| NINE,     | Wátiro,    | Peschkonk, |  | Sohnáyira, | Chakkale,      | Ohstápe,       | Tish-ngá,  | Tee-shang, | תשע  |
| TEN,      | Wasshé,    | Tellen,    |  | Skoeh,     | Pokoole,       | Pokóle,        | Ngeser,    | Nges-reh,  | עשר  |

We know so little of the Floridian languages, that nothing can be said of them, at present, with any certainty. The variation in the numerals, however, must not lead us hastily to suppose, that there are no etymological affinities between the Cherokee and the other languages here mentioned. Adair says, that *Tahre*, the Cherokee word for *two*, signifies in Muskohgee, *a stone*. So, *Isheka*, *five*, signifies in the latter *a mother*. Adair confesses, that he had not much skill in the Muskohgee dialect. It is very observable, that the numerals of the Minni and Unami tribes of the Lenapé, vary nearly as much as those of the Chickesaw and Muskohgees. The specimen of the Lenapé above exhibited, is of the Unami, which is considered as the pure or mother tongue. The following are the numerals of the Minni dialect:—1. *Gutti*; 2. *Nischa*; 3. *Nacha*; 4. *Newa*; 5. *Nalan*; 6. *Gutiasch*; 7. *Nischasch*; 8. *Chasch*; 9. *Nolewi*; 10. *Winbat*.

# GRAMMATICAL FORMS.

1. *Example of the Separable and Inseparable Personal Pronouns in Iroquois and Lenapé, compared with the Hebrew. The Inseparable Pronouns in the Iroquois, it will be seen, are divided into Inseparable Active, which are used with Active Verbs and Substantives, and Inseparable Passive, which are used with Passive Verbs.*

## SINGULAR.

| Iroquois, (Onondago dialect.)            |                                    |  |                                   | Lenapé.          |                   | Hebrew.                  |                              |
|--|------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
|  | Separable.                         | Inseparable Active.  | Insep. Passive.                   | Separable.       | Inseparable.      | Separable.               | Inseparable.                 |
| 1st per. {<br>I,<br>Me,<br>MINE,         | I,<br>pron. as<br>Eng. <i>ee</i> . | {<br>e <sup>a</sup> , e <sup>e</sup> ,<br>waga, wage,<br>t'ga, t'ge,<br>wakge, | Yunki.                            | ni,              | n,                | Ani,<br>Anochi,          | אני I,<br>אנוכי              |
| 2d per. {<br>THOU,<br>THEY,<br>THINE,    | His,                               | {<br>se, se,<br>wasssa, wasse,<br>wasch,<br>tessa, tesse,<br>tschi,            | Yetsa,                            | ki,              | k,                | Attah, (m.)<br>Att, (f.) | אתה Cha, (m.)<br>את Ch, (f.) |
| 3d per. {<br>HE,<br>HIS,<br>SHE,<br>HER, | Rauha,<br><br>Aulha,<br>Gaulha,    | {<br>ha, ho,<br>waha, waho,<br>t'ha, t'ho,<br>yago,<br>yago,                   | t'luwa,<br>or<br>wahuwa,<br>guwa, | neka,<br>nekama, | w,<br>o,<br>wall, | Hu,                      | הוא hu,<br>ו or o,           |
|  |                                    |  |                                   |                  |                   | Hi,                      | הי hah,                      |

PLURAL.

| <i>Iroquois, (Onondago dialect.)</i>                         |                         |   |                            | <i>Lenapé.</i>    |                     | <i>Hebrew.</i>              |                         |
|--|-------------------------|---|----------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
|  | <i>Separable.</i>       | <i>Inseparable Active.</i>  | <i>Insep. Passive.</i>     | <i>Separable.</i> | <i>Inseparable.</i> | <i>Separable.</i>           | <i>Inseparable.</i>     |
| 1st per.<br>{ WE,<br>OUR,<br>OURS,                           | ni,                     | { unqua, tinguqua,<br>yaqua,<br>tschiaqua,<br>ti'wa, diaqua,                                    | tingqua,                   | kiluna,           | ena,                | anu,<br>anachnu,<br>nachnu, | אנחנו,<br>נחנו,<br>נחנו |
| 2d p.<br>{ YOU,<br>YOUR,                                     | his,                    | { si'wa, si'we,<br>tess'wa,   | yetswa,                    | kiluwá,           | uwa,                | attem, (m.)<br>atten, (f.)  | אתם<br>אתן              |
| 3d pers.<br>{ THEY, m.<br>THEIR, m.<br>THEY, f.<br>THEIR, f. | honóhha,<br><br>onóhha, | { hoti, hati,<br>hunú, hunna,<br>wahunna,<br>t'hoti, t'hati,<br>t'hunú,<br>gunúti,<br>t'gunúti, | t'huwái,<br>or<br>wahuwái, | nekamawa,         | uwawall,            | hem,<br>hemmah,             | הם<br>המה               |
|  |                         |   | guwái,                     |                   |                     | hen, or<br>hennah,          | הן<br>הנה               |

II. *Example of a Noun in the Lenapé, or Delaware, with the Inseparable Pronouns, from Heckewelder's Correspondence, Let. XXI. (Transac. ut sup. p. 426.) compared with the Hebrew.*

FATHER. Delaware, Ooch.\* Hebrew, אב, אב.

|               |             |                             |                          |
|---------------|-------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| My Father,    | Nooch,      | Abi,                        | אבי                      |
| Thy Father,   | Kooch,      | Abicha, (m.) Abich, (f.)    | אביך                     |
| His Father,   | Oochwall,   | Abiv, or Abihu,             | אביו אביו                |
| Her Father,   | Oochwall,   | Abiha,                      | אביה                     |
| Our Father,   | Nochena,    | Abinu,                      | אבינו                    |
| Your Father,  | Kochuwa,    | Abichēm, (m.) Abichēn, (f.) | אביכם { m.<br>אביכן { f. |
| Their Father, | Ochuwawall, | Abihēm, (m.) Abihēn, (f.)   | אביהם { m.<br>אביהן { f. |

In Delaware, the pronoun is sometimes prefixed and sometimes suffixed. In Hebrew, it is uniformly suffixed.

According to Adair, my father is, in Chickasaw *Angge*, in Cherokee *Aketokta*; your father, Chickasaw *Chinge*, Cherokee *Chatokta*. My mother, Chickasaw *Saske*, Cherokee *Akachee*; your mother, Chickasaw, *Chishke*, Cherokee *Chacheeah*.

\* Ooch is the abstract word. "Wetoochwink," the father, is commonly used, because there are few occasions of using this word in the abstract sense.

III. *Example of the Verb To Love, in the Lenapé or Delaware, and Iroquois, compared with the Hebrew.*

Under the general name of Iroquois, I have given the Onondago verb from Zeisberger, and the Mohawk, which I wrote down in Albany, in the year 1817, from the mouth of Mr. Eleazar Williams, a son of one of the chiefs of the Oneida nation, who is now a candidate for Holy Orders, and a lay reader and catechist among the Oneidas. Mr. Williams has received a very good education; is acquainted with Greek and Latin; and speaks French fluently. He assured me, that the Mohawk was the pure, or mother tongue, which was understood by all the five nations; but that each had a dialect of its own. An evidence of the correctness of this statement, was afforded me by an interview which I had with several chiefs of the Onondago tribe, who were at Albany transacting some business with the governor. On that occasion I read the general confession in our liturgy; after which Mr. Williams translated it for them, and then proceeded to read in the Mohawk, the prayer for all conditions of men. In looking over it, as he read, I perceived that the vowels had the full Italian sounds, excepting *a*, pronounced like *aw*; that the nasal sounds *an*, *on*, &c. were exactly like the French; and that the guttural sounds were like those of the Oriental languages. I observed, likewise, that the accent was chiefly on the ultimate and penultimate. I ventured, therefore, to read a portion of the prayers and hymns, and succeeded so well that they understood me, and expressed their surprise and pleasure. This is a proof, not only of the ease with which a correct pronunciation might be acquired, but also of the fact, that the Onondagoes understand the Mohawk, though they have a dialect which differs from it considerably, as will appear from the verb here exhibited from Zeisberger.



## ACTIVE VOICE.

## Indicative Mood—Present Tense.

| Iroquois.  |   | Lenapé.  |   | Hebrew.  |
|--|---|--|---|--|
| Mohawk.  | Onondago.   |  |   |  |
| Singular.<br>{ I LOVE,<br>THOU LOVEST, (m.)<br>THOU LOVEST, (f.)<br>HE LOVES,<br>SHE LOVES,<br>Plural.<br>{ WE LOVE,<br>YOU LOVE, (m.)<br>YOU LOVE, (f.)<br>THEY LOVE, (m.)<br>THEY LOVE, (f.) | Kénónwes,<br>Senónwes,<br>. . . . .<br>Ránónwes,<br>. . . . .<br>Gánónwes,<br>. . . . .<br>Tewanónwes,<br>. . . . .<br>Sewanónwes,<br>. . . . .<br>Ratinónwes,<br>. . . . .<br>Konfinónwes,<br>. . . . .<br>Iénónwes, or<br>Venónwes, | Genoróchqua,<br>Sanoróchqua,<br>. . . . .<br>Honoróchqua,<br>. . . . .<br>Gonoróchqua,<br>. . . . .<br>Unguanoróchqua, or<br>T'wanoróchqua,<br>Swanoróchqua,<br>. . . . .<br>Hojinoróchqua,<br>. . . . .<br>Guntinoróchqua,<br>. . . . .<br>(Not given by Zeisberger.) | N'dahoala,<br>K'dahoala,<br>. . . . .<br>Ahoaleu, or<br>W'dahoala,<br>. . . . .<br>N'dahoalaneen,<br>. . . . .<br>K'dahoalahummo,<br>. . . . .<br>Ahoalewak.<br>. . . . . | There is no present, properly speaking, in Hebrew. Past action, continued up to the present, is denoted by the preterite; and habitual or continued action is often expressed by the future. The only mode of expression which may be called present, is when the participle Benoni is used with the personal pronoun: as אֲנִי אֹהֵב, I ( <i>sc. am</i> ) loving, Thou loving, He loving, &c. |

Impers. *On aime.*

## PRÆTERITE.

|   | Iroquois.   | Lenapé.   | Hebrew.                                      |
|---|---|---|--|
|   | <i>Mohawk.</i>  |   |  |
| I DID LOVE,<br>THOU DIDST L. (m.)                                       | Kenónwesgué,<br>Senónwesgué,  | Wagenorochquásquæ,<br>Wassenorochquásquæ,<br>Sanorochquásquæ,   | Ahábtí,<br>Ahábtá,<br>Ahábt,                 |
| (fem.)  | Ranónwesgué,<br>Ganónwesgué,<br>Tewanónwesgué,<br>Sewanónwesgué,            | { Wafonorochquásquæ,<br>Honorochquásquæ,<br>Gonorochquásquæ,<br>Unquanorochquásquæ,<br>S'wanorochquásquæ, | Ahábt,<br>Aháb,<br>Ahábá,<br>Ahábm,          |
| HE DID LOVE,<br>SHE DID LOVE,<br>WE DID LOVE, (m.)<br>YE DID LOVE, (m.) | Ratónwesgué,<br>Kontinónwesgué,<br>Iénónwesgué,                             | Hótinorochquásquæ,<br>Guntinorochquásquæ,<br>(Caret in Zeisb.)  | Ahábtm,<br>Ehabtem,<br>Ehabten,<br>Ahábu,    |
| THEY DID L. (m.)<br>(fem.)  |   |   | .....  |
| Imp. <i>On Amoi,</i>  |   |   |  |
| FUTURE.   |   |   |  |
| I SHALL LOVE,<br>THOU SHALT L. (m.)                                     | Hénkenónweseké,<br>Hénsenónweseké,  | 'Ngenoróchqua,<br>'Nsanoróchqua,  | Oháb,<br>Teeháb,<br>Teehábi,                 |
| (fem.)  | .....   | .....   | Teeháb,                                      |
| HE SHALL LOVE,<br>SHE SHALL LOVE,<br>WE SHALL LOVE,<br>YE SHALL L. (m.) | Hénhanónweseké,<br>Hénganónweseké,<br>Hénewanónweseké,<br>Hénsewanónweseké, | 'Nhonoróchqua,<br>'Ngonoróchqua,<br>'Nt'wanoróchqua,<br>'Ns'wanoróchqua,                                  | Teeháb,<br>Teehábm,<br>Teehábi,<br>Teehábt,  |
| (fem.)  | Hénhatinónweseké,<br>Hénkontinónweseké,<br>HénIénónweseké,                  | 'Nhotinoróchqua,<br>'Nguntinoróchqua,<br>(Caret in Zeisb.)  | Teehábt,<br>Teehábm,<br>Teehábi,<br>Teehábt, |
| THEY SHALL L. (m.)<br>(fem.)  |   |   | .....  |
| Impers. <i>On Amieru,</i>   |   |   |  |

## IMPERATIVE—PRESENT.

| Iroquois.                  |                  | Lenapé.          |          | Hebrew.   |                  |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------------|----------|---|------------------|
| <i>Mohawk.</i>             | <i>Onondago.</i> |                  |          |   |                  |
| LOVE THOU, (masc.)         | Senonwenn,       | Assanoróchqua,   | Ahoal,   | Eháb,   | עָהָב 5TH        |
| — (fem.)                   | Ranonwenn,       | .....            | .....    | Ehabí,  | עָהָבִי 5TH      |
| LET HIM LOVE,              | Ganonwenn,       | .....            | .....    | { expressed in Heb. by fut.<br>of the indicative. |                  |
| LET HER LOVE,              | Sewanonwenn,     | Assiwanoróchqua, | Ahoalek, | Ehebú,  | עִהְבֻּ 75TH     |
| LOVE YE, (masc.)           | .....            | .....            | .....    | Ehebénah,   | עִהְבֵּנָה 752TH |
| — (fem.)                   | Rafinonwenn,     | .....            | .....    | { In Heb. future indicative.                      |                  |
| LET THEM LOVE,             | Kontinonwenn,    | .....            | .....    |   |                  |
| — (fem.)                   | Ienonwenn,       | .....            | .....    |   |                  |
| Impers. <i>Qu'on Aime,</i> | .....            | .....            | .....    |   |                  |

## IMPERATIVE—FUTURE.

| IMPERATIVE—FUTURE.       |                   | IMPERATIVE—FUTURE. |  |
|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--|
| THOU SHALT OR MUST LOVE, | Nassanoróchqua,   | Nahonoróchqua,     | There is no such tense in Hebrew; the future of the indicative being used to express necessity of future action. |
| HE SHALL OR MUST L.      | Nagonoróchqua,    | Nass'wanoróchqua,  |  |
| SHE SHALL OR MUST L.     | Nass'wanoróchqua, | Nahotinoróchqua,   |  |
| YE SHALL OR MUST L.      | Nahotinoróchqua,  | Naguntinoróchqua,  |  |
| THEY SHALL OR MUST L.    | Naguntinoróchqua, | .....              |  |
| — (fem.)                 | .....             | .....              |  |

## CONJUNCTIVE MOOD.

## PRESENT.

|   | <i>Iroquois.</i>  | <i>Lenapé.</i>  | <i>Hebrew.</i>  |
|---|---|---|---|
| When or if I love,<br>— thou lovest,<br>— he loves,<br>— we love,<br>— ye love,<br>— they love, | Zeisberger says, in his Onondago Grammar, "The conjunctive or optative is not in the language, but is expressed by the indicative." | Ahoalak,<br>Ahoalanne,<br>Ehoalat,<br>Ahoalenk,<br>Ahoaleque,<br>Ahoalachtit. | There is no conj. or opt. mood in Heb. the idea of desire or contingency being expressed by the fut. ind. |

## PRÆTERITE.

|  |                      |  |                                  |
|--|----------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| When or if I loved,<br>— thou didst l.<br>— he loved,<br>— we loved,<br>— ye loved,<br>— they loved, | Wanting in Iroquois. | Ahoalackkup,<br>Ahoalannup,<br>Ehoalachtup,<br>Ahoalenkup,<br>Ahoalekap,<br>Ahoalachtitup, | Nothing correspondent in Hebrew. |
|--|----------------------|--|----------------------------------|

## PLUPERFECT.

|   |                      |   |                                  |
|---|----------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| When or if I had loved,<br>— thou hadst l'd<br>— he had loved,<br>— we had l'd,<br>— ye had loved,<br>— they had l'd, | Wanting in Iroquois. | Ahoalakpanne,<br>Ahoalanpanne,<br>Ehoalatpanne,<br>Ahoalenkpanne,<br>Ahoalekpanne,<br>Ahoalachtitpanne, | Nothing correspondent in Hebrew. |
|---|----------------------|---|----------------------------------|

## FUTURE.

|  |                      |   |                                  |
|--|----------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| When or if I shall love,<br>— thou shalt l.<br>— he shall love,<br>— we shall love,<br>— ye shall love,<br>— they shall l. | Wanting in Iroquois. | Ahoalaktsch,<br>Ahoalantsch,<br>Ehoalatsch,<br>Ahoalawonsch,<br>Ahoalaweksch,<br>Ahoalaktitsch, | Nothing correspondent in Hebrew. |
|--|----------------------|---|----------------------------------|

## INFINITIVE MOOD.

|  |  |          |           |
|--|--|----------|-----------|
| To love,<br>To have loved,<br>To be about to love, | Yonoróchqua,<br>Yonorochquásqua<br>Nyonoróchqua, | Ahoalan, | Ehób, אהב |
|--|--|----------|-----------|

The participles are not given by Zeisberger, either of the Onondago, or Lenni Lenapé.

It must be observed, that my object being merely to show the difference between the Indian languages and the Hebrew, I have not attempted to exhibit a full view of the exuberant richness of their grammatical construction. The Delaware verb, *Ahoalan*, to love, pursued through all its forms, occupies alone fourteen folio pages in Zeisberger's Grammar.

I proceed to give, merely as a specimen, a comparative view of the manner in which the objective personal pronouns are united to the active verbs.

# EXAMPLE OF THE PERSONAL FORMS IN DELAWARE AND HEBREW.

## FIRST PERSONAL FORM, I.

### Delaware, present.

| Singular.          |             | Plural.      |                |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| I love thee,       | K'dahoatell | I love you,  | K'dahoalohhumo |
| I love him or her, | N'dahoala   | I love them, | N'dahoalawak   |

### Hebrew, præterite.

|                                    |         |                                    |         |
|------------------------------------|---------|------------------------------------|---------|
| I have loved thee, (m.) Ahabticha, | אהבתיך  | I have loved you, (m.) Ahabtichém, | אהבתיכם |
| — (f.) Ahabtich,                   | אהבתיך  | — (f.) Ahabtichén,                 | אהבתיכן |
| I have loved him, Ahabtihu,        | אהבתיהו | I have loved them, (m.) Ahabtihém, | אהבתיהם |
| — her, Ahabtiha,                   | אהבתיה  | — (f.) Ahabtichén,                 | אהבתיכן |

## SECOND PERSONAL FORM, THOU.

### Delaware, present.

|                 |           |                 |               |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|
| Thou lovest me, | K'dahoali | Thou lovest us, | K'dahoalineen |
| — him or her,   | K'dahoala | — them,         | K'dahoalawak  |

### Hebrew, præterite, (masc.)

|                                    |         |                               |         |
|------------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|---------|
| Thou (m.) hast loved me, Ahabtáni, | אהבתיני | Thou hast loved us, Ahabtánu, | אהבתינו |
| — him, Ahabtáhu,                   | אהבתיהו | — them, (m.) Ahabtám,         | אהבתם   |
| — her, Ahabt-háh,                  | אהבתה   | — (f.) Ahabtán,               | אהבתך   |

### (feminine.)

|                                    |                     |                                    |         |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|---------|
| Thou (f.) hast loved me, Ahabtini, | אהבתיני             | Thou (f.) hast loved us, Ahabtinu, | אהבתינו |
| — him,                             | as in first person. | — them, (m.) Ahabtím,              | אהבתיכם |
| Ahabtihu,                          |                     | — (f.) Ahabtín,                    | אהבתיכן |
| — her, Ahabtiha,                   |                     |                                    |         |



## THIRD PERSONAL FORM, HE OR SHE.

*Delaware, present.*

| <i>Singular.</i>               |  | <i>Plural.</i>                   |
|--------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| He or she loves me, N'dahoaluk |  | He or she loves us, W'dahoalguna |
| — thee, K'dahoaluk             |  | — you, W'dahoalguwa              |
| — him, W'dahoalawall           |  | — them, W'dahoalawak             |

*Hebrew, præterite, (masc.)*

|                                 |                                 |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| He has loved me, Ahabáni, אהבני | He has loved us, Ahabánu, אהבנו |
| — thee, (m.) Ahabchá, אהבך      | — you, (m.) Ahabché, אהבכם      |
| — (f.) Ahabéch, אהבך            | — (f.) Ahabché, אהבכן           |
| — him, Ahabáhu, אהבהו           | — them, (m.) Ahabám, אהבם       |
| — her, Ahab-háh, אהבה           | — (f.) Ahabán, אהבן             |

*(feminine.)*

|                                     |                                     |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| She has loved me, Ahabáthni, אהבתני | She has loved us, Ahabáthnu, אהבתנו |
| — thee, (m.) Ahabáthcha, אהבתך      | — you, (m.) Ahabathché, אהבתכם      |
| — (f.) Ahabathéch, אהבתך            | — (f.) Ahabathché, אהבתכן           |
| — him, Ahabáth-hu, אהבתהו           | — them, (m.) Ahabathám, אהבתם       |
| — her, Ahabáth-hah, אהבתה           | — (f.) Ahabathán, אהבתן             |

IV. As a specimen of the Grammatical forms of the Floridian Languages, I subjoin the "Conjugation of a verb in the Cherokee language, by the Rev. Daniel S. Butrick," communicated by him to the American Philosophical Society. I copy it with the division of syllables, accents, &c. from the original paper.

## ACTIVE VOICE—INDICATIVE MOOD.

PRESENT TENSE.

| <i>Sing.</i>   | <i>Dual.</i>  | <i>Plural.</i>  |
|--|---|---|
| 1. tsé né yí. I take, or am taking, ( <i>a person</i> .) | 1. ā ne ne yí. We two take, ( <i>speaking to each other</i> .)      | 1. ā te ne yí. We (all) take, ( <i>speaking to one of the company</i> .)      |
| 2. he ne yí. Thou takest,                                | 1. ā ste ne yí. We two take, ( <i>speaking to a third person</i> .) | 1. ā tse ne yí. We (all) take, ( <i>speaking to one not of the company</i> .) |
| 3. Cū ne yí. He or she takes,                            | 2. ā ste ne yí. You two take,                                       | 2. ā tse ne yí. You (all) take,   |
|  |   | 3. ū ne ne yí. They take.   |

## IMPERFECT TENSE.

| Sing.                        | Dual.                                | Plur.                                  |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. tse ne yu hu. I did take, | 1. ā ne ne yu hu. We (2) did take,   | 1. ā te ne yu hu. We (all) did take,   |
| 2. he ne yu hu. Thou, &c.    | 1. ā ste ne yu hu. We (2) did take,  | 1. ā tse ne yu hu. We (all) did take,  |
| 3. ō ne yu hu. He, &c.       | 2. ā ste ne yu hu. You (2) did take, | 2. ā tse ne yu hu. You (all) did take, |
|                              |                                      | 3. ō ne ne yu hu. They did take.       |

## PERFECT TENSE.

|   |                                  |                                    |
|---|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. tse ne ye scū. I have taken, or been taking, | 1. ā ne ne ye scū. We, (2) &c.   | 1. ā te ne ye scū. We, (all) &c.   |
| 2. he ne ye scū. Thou, &c.                      | 1. ā ste ne ye scū. We, (2) &c.  | 1. ā tse ne ye scū. We, (all) &c.  |
| 3. cū ne ye scū. He, &c.                        | 2. ā ste ne ye scū. You, (2) &c. | 2. ā tse ne ye scū. You, (all) &c. |
|   |                                  | 3. ū ne ne ye scū. They, &c.       |

## FIRST FUTURE TENSE.

|                                |                                 |                                   |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. tū tse ne yū. I shall take, | 1. tī ā ne ne yu. We two, &c.   | 1. tī ā te ne yū. We, (all) &c.   |
| 2. te ne yū. Thou, &c.         | 1. tī ā ste ne yū. We two, &c.  | 1. tī ā tse ne yū. We, (all) &c.  |
| 3. tū cū ne yū. He, &c.        | 2. tī ā ste ne yū. You two, &c. | 2. tī ā tse ne yū. You, (all) &c. |
|                                |                                 | 3. tū ne ne yū. They, &c.         |

## SECOND FUTURE TENSE.

|  |                                      |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. tse ne ye scā stī. I shall be taking. | 1. ā ne ne ye scā stī. We two, &c.   | 1. ā te ne ye scā stī. We, (all) &c. |
| 2. he ne ye scā stī. Thou, &c.           | 1. ā ste ne ye scā stī. We two, &c.  | 1. ā tse ne ye scā stī. We all, &c.  |
| 3. cū ne ye scā stī. He, &c.             | 2. ā ste ne ye scā stī. You two, &c. | 2. ā tse ne ye scā stī. You all, &c. |
|  |                                      | 3. ū ne ne ye scā stī. They, &c.     |

“The potential mode is generally formed from the indicative, by prefixing *yā tē*; and the subjunctive, by prefixing *yē*. What I here call the potential mode, expresses *power*; there is another mode, for which, as yet, I have no name, to express *liberty*: as *I may*,” &c. D. S. B.

## IMPERATIVE MOOD.

| <i>Sing.</i>                 | <i>Dual.</i>                    | <i>Plur.</i>                    |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. tse ne yŭ. Let me take,   | 1. ā ne ne yŭ. Let us two, &c.  | 1. ā te ne yŭ. Let us all, &c.  |
| 2. he ne yŭ. Do thou, &c.    | 1. ā ste ne yŭ. Let us two, &c. | 1. ā tse ne yŭ. Let us all, &c. |
| 2. wī cū ne yŭ. Let him, &c. | 2. ā ste ne yŭ. Do you two, &c. | 2. ā tse ne yŭ. Do you all, &c. |
|                              |                                 | 3. wŭ ne ne yŭ. Let them, &c.   |

## INFINITIVE MOOD.

|                           |                    |                    |
|---------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. tse ne yŭ tī. To take. | 1. ā ne ne yŭ tī,  | 1. ā te ne yŭ tī,  |
| 2. he ne yŭ tī.           | 1. ā ste ne yŭ tī, | 1. ā tse ne yŭ tī, |
| 3. ō ne yŭ tī.            | 2. ā ste ne yŭ tī, | 2. ā tse ne yŭ tī, |
|                           |                    | 3. ō ne ne yŭ tī.  |

## PASSIVE VOICE—INDICATIVE MOOD.

## PRESENT TENSE.

| <i>Sing.</i>                 | <i>Dual.</i>                   | <i>Plur.</i>                    |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. ũng ke ne yŭ. I am taken, | 1. tā kīn e ne yŭ. We two, &c. | 1. tā ke ne yŭ. We, (all) &c.   |
| 2. ā tsŭ ne yŭ. Thou, &c.    | 1. tā kīn e ne yŭ. We two, &c. | 1. tā ke ne yŭ. We, (all) &c.   |
| 3. ā tse ne yŭ. He, &c.      | 2. ta ste ne yŭ. You two, &c.  | 2. tā tsē ne yŭ. You, (all) &c. |
|                              |                                | 3. tā cā tse ne yŭ. They, &c.   |

## IMPERFECT.

|                                |                       |                        |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. ũng kē ne yŭ hŭ. I was, &c. | 1. ta kīn e ne yŭ hŭ, | 1. tā ke ne yŭ hŭ,     |
| 2. ā tsŭ ne yŭ hŭ. Thou, &c.   | 1. tā kīn e ne yŭ hŭ, | 1. tā ke ne yŭ hŭ,     |
| 3. ā tse ne yŭ hŭ. He, &c.     | 2. tā ste ne yŭ hŭ,   | 2. tā tse ne yŭ hŭ,    |
|                                |                       | 3. tā cā tse ne yŭ hŭ. |

## PERFECT.

|   |                        |                         |
|---|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. ũng ke ne ye scŭ. I have been taken, | 1. tā kīn e ne ye scŭ, | 1. tā ke ne ye scŭ,     |
| 2. ā tsŭ ne ye scŭ. Thou, &c.           | 1. tā kīn e ne ye scŭ, | 1. tā ke ne ye scŭ,     |
| 3. ā tse ne ye scŭ. He, &c.             | 2. tā stē ne ye scŭ,   | 2. tā tse ne ye scŭ,    |
|   |                        | 3. tā cā tse ne ye scŭ. |

## FUTURE.

| <i>Sing.</i>                           | <i>Dual.</i>          | <i>Plur.</i>        |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. tī yǔng ke ne yǔ. I shall be taken, | 1. tī yā kīn e ne yǔ, | 1. tī yā ke ne yǔ,  |
| 2. tī yā tsū ne yǔ. Thou, &c.          | 1. tī yā kīn e ne yǔ, | 1. tī yā ke ne yǔ,  |
| 3. tī yā tse ne yǔ. He, &c.            | 2. tī yā ste ne yǔ,   | 2. tī yā tse ne yǔ, |
|  |                       | 3. tū cā tse ne yǔ. |

N. B. The potential and subjunctive moods are formed in the same manner as in the active voice.

## IMPERATIVE MOOD.

|                                    |                    |                        |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. wǔng ke ne yǔ. Let me be taken, | 1. tā kīn e ne yǔ, | 1. tā ke ne yǔ,        |
| 2. wā tsū ne yǔ. Do thou be, &c.   | 1. tā kīn e ne yǔ, | 1. tā ke ne yǔ,        |
| 3. wā tse ne yǔ. Let him, &c.      | 2. tā ste ne yǔ,   | 2. tā tse ne yǔ,       |
|                                    |                    | 3. wǐ tī cā tse ne yǔ. |

NOTE. Some words in this mood are distinguished from the present passive only by the accent, which is not here marked.

## INFINITIVE MOOD.

|                                  |                       |                        |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. ũng ke ne yǔ tī. To be taken, | 1. tā kīn e ne yǔ tī, | 1. tā ke ne yǔ tī,     |
| 2. ā tsū ne yǔ tī,               | 1. tā kīn e ne yǔ tī, | 1. tā ke ne yǔ tī,     |
| 3. à tse ne yǔ tī,               | 2. tā ste ne yǔ tī,   | 2. tā tse ne yǔ tī,    |
|                                  |                       | 3. tī cā tse ne yǔ tī. |

## MIDDLE VOICE—INDICATIVE MOOD.

## PRESENT TENSE.

| <i>Sing.</i>                          | <i>Dual.</i>        | <i>Plur.</i>        |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. cū tà ne yī. I am taking, (myself) | 1. tā nū tà ne yī,  | 1. tā tū tà ne yī,  |
| 2. hū tà ne yī. Thou, &c.             | 1. tā stū tà ne yī, | 1. tā tsū tà ne yī, |
| 3. à tà ne yī. He, &c.                | 2. tā stū tà ne yī, | 2. tā tsū tà ne yī, |
|                                       |                     | 3. tà nū tà ne yī.  |

## IMPERFECT.

| <i>Sing.</i>                               | <i>Dual.</i>                                     | <i>Plur.</i>                                 |
|--|--|--|
| 1. à qū tà ne yū hū. I did take, (myself.) | 1. kīn ū tà ne yū hū,<br>1. ō kīn ā tà ne yū hū, | 1. ē cū tà ne yū hū,<br>1. ō cū tà ne yū hū, |
| 2. tsū tà ne yū hū. Thou, &c.              | 2. ē stū tà ne yū hū,                            | 2. ē tsū tà ne yū hū,                        |
| 3. ō tà ne yū hū. He, &c.                  |  | 3. tò nū tà ne yū hū.                        |

## PERFECT.

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 1. cū tà ne ye scū. I have taken, or been taking, (myself.) | 1. ta nu tà ne ye scū,<br>1. tā stū tà ne ye scū, | 1. tā tū tà ne ye scū,<br>1. tā tsū tà ne ye scū, |
| 2. hū tà ne ye scū. Thou, &c.                               | 2. tā stū tà ne ye scū,                           | 2. ta tsū tà ne ye scū,                           |
| 3. à tà ne ye scū. He, &c.                                  |   | 3. tà nū tà ne ye scū.                            |

## FIRST FUTURE

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| 1. tū cū tà ne yū. I shall take, (myself.) | 1. tā tà nū tà ne yū,<br>1. tā ti ā stū tà ne yū, | 1. tā tà tū tà ne yū,<br>1. tā ti ā tsu tà ne yū, |
| 2. tū tà ne yū. Thou, &c.                  | 2. tā tà stū tà ne yū,                            | 2. tā tà tsū tà ne yū,                            |
| 3. tu n tà ne yū. He, &c.                  |   | 3. tā tū nū tà ne yū.                             |

## SECOND FUTURE.

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| 1. cū tà ne ye scā stī. I shall be taking, (myself.) | 1. tā nū tà ne ye scā stī,<br>1. tā stū tà ne ye scā stī, | 1. tā tū tà ne ye scā stī,<br>1. tā tsū tà ne ye scā stī, |
| 2. hū tà ne ye scā stī. Thou, &c.                    | 2. tā stū tà ne ye scā stī,                               | 2. tā tsū tà ne ye scā stī,                               |
| 3. à tà ne ye scā stī. He, &c.                       |   | 3. tà nū tà ne ye scā stī.                                |

The potential and subjunctive moods formed in some respects as in the Active Voice.

## IMPERATIVE MOOD.

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| 1. cū tà ne yū. Let me take, (myself.) | 1. tā nū tà ne yū,<br>1. tā stū tà ne yū, | 1. tā tū tà ne yū,<br>1. tā tsū tà ne yū, |
| 2. hū tà ne yū. Do thou, &c.           | 2. tā stū tà ne yū,                       | 2. tā tsū tà ne yū,                       |
| 3. wū tà ne yū. Let him, &c.           |   | 3. wī tū nū tà ne yū.                     |



## INFINITIVE MOOD.

| Sing.                                     | Dual.  | Plur.  |
|---|--|--|
| 1. à qũ tà ne yũ tí. To<br>take, (myself) | 1. tá kîn ũ tà ne yũ tí,<br>1. tá kîn ũ tà ne yũ tí, | 1. tá cũ tà ne yũ tí,<br>1. tá cũ tà ne yũ tí, |
| 2. tsũ tà ne yũ tí,                       | 2. tá stũ tà ne yũ tí,                               | 2. ta tsũ tà ne yũ tí,                         |
| 3. ó tà ne yũ tí,                         |  | 3. tsũ nũ tà ne yũ tí.                         |

## "REMARKS.

"1. When two are talking together, and one speaks to his companion, he says, *à nē nē yĩ*, *We (two) are taking*; but if he speaks to any other person or persons than his companion, he says, *à stē ne yĩ*, *We (two) are taking*.

"2. When three or more persons are talking together, and one speaks to the company, he says, *à tē nē yĩ*, *We (all) are taking*; but if he speak to any person or persons, not included in the expression—not belonging to the company, he says, *à tsē ne yĩ*, *We (all) are taking*. So through all the voices, modes, and tenses.

"3. The infinitive mode is varied by persons. Thus, *I want to take*, *à quũ tó tí*, *tsē nē yũ tí*: *I want you to take*, speaking to one person, I say, *à quũ tó tí*, *hē nē yũ tí*: *I want him to take*, *à quũ tó tí*, *ó ne yũ tí*, &c. &c. &c.

"4. I have passed over the potential and subjunctive modes, because there are various ways of forming them, and I am not confident which is best. I have omitted the participles, because I am not sufficiently acquainted with them."

It will immediately be seen, that a language so remarkably rich in grammatical forms as to surpass even the Greek, differs *toto calo* from the Hebrew, one of the simplest of all languages. For the sake of those, however, who are unacquainted with the latter, I subjoin the preterite of the verb TO TAKE, *Lakách* לקח

| Sing.  | Plur.                                      |
|--|--|
| He took, <i>Lakáchh</i> לקח                  | They (m. & f.) took, <i>La-kechi</i> לקחו  |
| She took, <i>La-kechàh</i> לקחה              | Ye (m.) took, <i>Le-kach-tém</i> לקחתם     |
| Thou (m.) didst take, <i>La-kách-ta</i> לקחת | Ye (f.) took, <i>Le-kach-ten</i> לקחתן     |
| Thou (f.) didst take, <i>La-kacht</i> לקחת   | We (m. & f.) took, <i>La-kach-nu</i> לקחנו |
| I (m. & f.) took, <i>La-kach-ti</i> לקחתי    |  |

For the vocabulary from Zeisberger, the conjugation of the verbs in the Lenni Lenape, and Onondago, from the same author, and the above example of the Cherokee verb, I am indebted to the kindness of Peter S. Duponceau, Esq. corresponding secretary of the Historical and Literary Commit-

tee of the American Philosophical Society. As that gentleman is devoting his leisure moments with great ardour to the study of Indian languages, we have reason to expect, that he will throw much light upon the philosophical history of human speech ; a subject in which, to use the words of the Quarterly Reviewers, "the critical scholar, the metaphysician, and the historian, are equally interested."

#### NOTE E.

"In the Indian languages, says Mr. Heckewelder, those discriminating words or inflections, which we call *genders*, are not, as with us, in general, intended to distinguish between male and female beings, but between animate and inanimate things or substances. Trees and plants (*annual plants and grasses excepted*) are included within the generic class of animated beings. Hence the personal pronoun has only two modes, if I can so express myself, one applicable to the *animate*, and the other to the *inanimate gender*; '*nekama*' is the personal pronominal form which answers to 'he' and 'she' in English. If you wish to distinguish between the sexes, you must add to it the word 'man' or 'woman.' Thus, '*nekama lenno*' means 'he,' or 'this man;' '*nekama ochqueu*,' 'she,' or 'this woman.'

"The males of quadrupeds are called '*lenno wéchum*,' and by contraction '*lennochum*,' the females '*ochque wéchum*,' and by contraction '*ochquechum*,' which is the same as saying *he* or *she* beasts. With the winged tribe, their generic denomination '*wehelle*' is added to the word which expresses the sex, thus '*lenno wehelle*,' for the male, and '*ochquechelle*,' (with a little contraction,) for the female. There are some animals, the females of which have a particular distinguishing name, as '*nunschetto*,' a doe, '*nunsheach*,' a she bear. This, however, is not common." Correspondence respecting the Indian languages, Let. vii. Transactions, ut supr. p. 367-9.

"The Indians distinguish the genders, animate and inanimate, even in their verbs. *Nolhatton* and *nolhalla*, both mean '*I possess*,' but the former can be used only in speaking of the possession of things inanimate, and the latter of living creatures.—In the verb, '*to see*,' the same distinction is made between things, animate and inanimate. *Newau*, '*I see*,' applies only to the former, and '*nemen*,' to the latter. Thus the Delawares say, *lenno NEWAU*, '*I see a man*;' *tscholens NEWAU*, '*I see a bird*;' *achgook NEWAU*, '*I see a snake*;' On the contrary, they say, *wiquam NEMEN*, '*I see a house*;' *amochol NEMEN*, '*I see a canoe*,' &c. Ibid. p. 438-9.

These expressions of Mr. Heckewelder are to be taken, however, with due limitation. In their full extent, they apply only to the Lenapé and their kindred tribes. It is certain, from the specimens of the Mohawk and Onon-

dago in the preceding note, that there are feminine verbs in the Iroquois. That the distinctions of gender exist also in the nouns, is evident from the following passage in Zeisberger's Onondago Grammar. "The gender of nouns is twofold, masculine and feminine;\* it is partly designated or distinguished by the nature of the thing, and partly from *prefixes*, or, to speak more accurately, *preformatives*. Examples: 1. From the nature of the thing—*Elschinak*, a man; *Echro*, a woman. 2. From prefixes—*Sayádat*, a person, (m.) *Sgayádat* a person, (f.) *T'híátage*, two persons, (m.) *t'gidátage*, two persons, (f.) *áchso nihénati*, three persons, (m.) *áchso negínati*, three persons.(f.)" Zeisberger's M. S. Grammar of the Onondago Lang. transl. by P. S. Duponceau, Esq.

Yet we must not hastily conclude, that the distinction of *animate* and *inanimate*, does not exist in the Iroquois. Charlevoix, whose cautious accuracy on other subjects leads us to place confidence in what he asserts on his own knowledge, says expressly, "Dans le Huron, (a dialect of the Iroquois,) tout se conjugue," &c.—"Les verbes simples ont une double conjugaison, l'une absolue, l'autre réciproque. *Les troisièmes personnes ont les deux genres, car il n'y en a que deux dans ces langues, à sçavoir le genre noble, et le genre ignoble.* Pour ce qui est des nombres et des tems, on y trouve les mêmes différences, que dans le Grec. Par exemple, pour raconter un voyage, on s'exprime autrement, si on l'a fait par terre, ou si on l'a fait par eau. Les verbes actifs se multiplient autant de fois, qu'il y a de choses qui tombent sous leur action; comme le verbe, qui signifie *manger*, varie autant de fois, qu'il y a de choses comestibles. *L'action s'exprime autrement à l'égard d'une chose animée, et d'une chose inanimée; ainsi, voir un homme, et voir une pierre, ce sont deux verbes.*† Se servir d'une chose, qui appartient à celui qui s'en sert, ou à celui à qui on parle, ce sont autant de verbes differens.—*Il y a quelque chose de tout cela dans la langue Algonquine*, (a dialect of the Lenapé or Delaware,) mais la manière n'en est pas la même, et je ne suis nullement en état de vous en instruire." Journal Hist. p. 197.

On this subject, Mr. Duponceau thus writes to me: "I have yet found nothing in Zeisberger respecting an *inanimate* gender in the Iroquois, but it does not follow from thence, that it does not exist some where, and in some

\* In another grammar of the Onondago, by the same author, he says, "there are three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter. The neuter nouns are those which have no sign of gender prefixed to them." In his Delaware grammar, he also divides the genders into masculine, feminine, and neuter. Yet we now know, that they are also divided into animate and inanimate.

† The same assertion, and the same example, as that of Heckewelder, with respect to the Delaware, above quoted.

form, in that language; for in his Delaware Grammar, he divides the genders into masculine, feminine, and neuter; and it is from Mr. Heckewelder that we have the account of the *inanimate*. The truth is, that the writers of Indian Grammars, most of them at least, have tried too much to assimilate their rules to those of their own language, or of the Latin. It was a great while before I satisfied myself, that the Iroquois was Polysynthetic. Zeisberger's Grammars do not show it; but some other manuscripts of his, and a careful investigation of his Grammars and Dictionaries, with that view, have convinced me that it is so in the highest degree. This I shall develope at a future day, when I have more leisure for it; but, on the whole, we must be careful of general negative inferences, as they may mislead us."

"The Delaware, though it has this general division of *animate* and *inanimate*, is not a stranger to the masculine and feminine; as many names of animals are different for the sexes, and others are distinguished as with us by a male and female epithet. Thus we say, *he cat, she cat, cock sparrow, hen sparrow*, &c. From these, an Iroquois, on a superficial view, might say that our language has no genders," &c.

#### NOTE F.

Much stress has been laid upon the supposed use of the Hebrew words *Jehovah* and *Halleluah* among the Indians. With regard to the invocation of God, by the name of *Jehovah*, the fact, in the first place, is not certain. Some travellers assert that the Indians, when assembled in council, and on other solemn occasions, express their approbation by ejaculating *Ho, ho, ho*, with a very guttural emission. In the minutes of a treaty, held at Lancaster, I think in 1742, on which occasion Conrad Weiser was interpreter, it is said that the chiefs expressed their approbation in the usual manner, by saying, "*Yo-wah*." Adair says that they exclaim, "*Yo-he-wah*," and, according to his manner of interpretation, asserts, that this means "*Jehovah*." But surely all this may be purely imaginary. It is well known that the Hebrew nation abstain from the use of this sacred name. We have the authority of Josephus and Philo, that it was never pronounced. The Septuagint version, which was made more than 250 years before Christ, constantly substitutes for it, the word *Kyrios*, Lord, which agrees with the present practice among the Jews. It must be proved, then, that before the dispersion of the ten tribes, it was customary to pronounce the name of *Jehovah*, or else the use of a similar word among the Indians is hostile to the theory it was intended to serve.

As to the word *Halleluah*, supposing it to be true that such a word is uttered, and that it is not an accidental resemblance, what is the inference to be drawn from it? That the Indians are Hebrews? But "the ancient Greeks



had their similar acclamation, *Ελεειν Ιη*, with which they both began and ended their *pæans*, or hymns, in honour of Apollo." See Parkhurst, Heb. Lex. voce *יה*. v. and Calmet's Dict. Article *Alleluia*. May we not as well conclude, that the Indians are descended from the Greeks, or the Greeks from the Hebrews? All such arguments are extremely unsatisfactory, and can weigh nothing in opposition to the facts, that the American languages have no affinity with the Hebrew, that the Indians have not the least knowledge of written characters, that none of them practise the rite of circumcision, and that there are no traces among them of the observation of the Sabbath. "It cannot be perceived that they have any set holy-dayes; only in some great distresse of want, feare of enemies, times of triumph, and of gathering their fruits, the whole countrey, men, women, and children, assemble to their solemnities." Observations of the Rites of Virginians, by Captain Smith and others. Purchas, vol. v. p. 951.

#### NOTE G.

This belief in subordinate deities is represented by Adair, in conformity with his system, as only a belief in the ministration of Angels. Hist. of the North American Indians, p. 36.

"They (viz. the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, &c.) believe the higher regions to be inhabited by good spirits, whom they call *Hottuk Ishtohoollo* and *Nana Ishtohoollo*, 'holy people,' and 'relations to the great holy one.' The *Hottuk Ookproose* or *Nana Ookproose*, 'accursed people,' or 'accursed beings,' they say, possess the dark regions of the west; the former attend and favour the virtuous; and the latter, in like manner, accompany and have power over the vicious." p. 36. "Several warriors have told me, that their *Nana Ishtohoollo*, 'concomitant holy spirits,' or angels, have forewarned them, as by intuition, of a dangerous ambuscade, which must have been attended with certain death, when they were alone, and seemingly out of danger; and by virtue of the impulse, they immediately darted off, and, with extreme difficulty, escaped the crafty pursuing enemy." p. 37.

The Chepewyan, or Northern Indians, according to Hearne, "are very superstitious with respect to the existence of several kinds of *fairies*, called by them *Nant-e-na*, whom they frequently say they see, and who are supposed by them to inhabit the different elements of earth, sea, and air, according to their several qualities. To one or other of those *fairies* they usually attribute any change in their circumstances, either for the better or worse; and as they are led into this way of thinking entirely by the art of the conjurers, there is no such thing as any general mode of belief; for those jugglers differ so much from each other in their accounts of these beings, that those who believe any thing they say, have little to do but change their opinions according to



the will and caprice of the conjurer, who is almost daily relating some new whim or extraordinary event, which, he says, has been revealed to him in a dream, or by some of his favourite fairies, when on a hunting excursion." Hearne, 347. cap. ix. end. What Hearne calls fairies were probably the inferior tutelary deities.

When among the Sioux, Captains Lewis and Clarke went to see, (anno 1804,) "a large mound in the midst of a plain, about N. 20. W. from the mouth of Whitestone River, from which it is nine miles distant. It is called by the Indians, the *Mountain of Little People, or Little Spirits*, and they believe that it is the abode of little devils in the human form, of about 18 inches high, and with remarkably large heads; they are armed with sharp arrows, with which they are very skilful, and are always on the watch to kill those who should have the hardihood to approach their residence. The tradition is, that many have suffered from those little evil spirits, and among others, three Maha Indians fell a sacrifice to them a few years since. This has inspired all the neighbouring nations, Sioux, Mahas, and Ottoes, with such terror, that no consideration could tempt them to visit the hill." Lewis and Clarke's expedition up the Missouri, vol. 1. p. 52-3. Philad. 1814.

The term *devils* is a gloss of the travellers. These are probably the same with the Matchi Manittoes, or inferior evil spirits, of the Lenapé.

"The whole religion of the Mandans, (anno 1804,) consists in the belief of one *Great Spirit*, presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius, since it is associated with the healing art, and the *Great Spirit* is synonymous with *Great Medicine*, a name also applied to every thing which they do not comprehend. Each individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his *medicine*, and is either some invisible being, or more commonly some animal, which thenceforward becomes his protector or his intercessor with the *Great Spirit*; to propitiate whom, every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. 'I was lately owner of 17 horses,' said a Mandan to us one day, 'but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor.' He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and, turning them loose, committed them to the care of his *medicine*, and abandoned them for ever. The horses, less religious, took care of themselves, and the pious votary travelled home on foot." Lewis and Clarke, vol. 1. p. 138.

"Besides the buffalo dance, we have just described, there is another called *medicine dance*, an entertainment given by any person desirous of doing honour to his *medicine* or *genius*. He announces that on such a day he will sacrifice his horses, or other property, and invites the young females of the village to assist in rendering homage to his medicine; all the inhabitants may join in the solemnity, which is performed in the open plain, and by daylight, but the dance is reserved for the unmarried females. The feast

is opened by devoting the goods of the Master of the feast to his medicine, which is represented by a head of the animal itself, or by a medicine bag, if the deity be an invisible being." Lewis and Clarke, vol. 1. p. 151-2.

I am inclined to think that, from an imperfect knowledge of their language and religious customs, Lewis and Clarke were led into a mistake respecting the term "Medicine," as applied to the Supreme Being, and to the subordinate divinities. The Indians undoubtedly consider the healing art as a supernatural power; and as they call every thing they do not comprehend a Spirit, they would naturally call any medicine, of which they had felt the efficacy, a Spirit. Lewis and Clarke may easily, therefore, have been led to suppose that their word for Spirit meant medicine.

That the same belief in one supreme, and numerous subordinate deities, existed among the tribes now extinct, who formerly inhabited the Atlantic States, appears from the accounts given by the first settlers, which coincide in a remarkable manner with the statements of Modern Travellers.

In the year 1587, Thomas Hariot, sent over by Sir Walter Raleigh, and, to use his own expressions, "in dealing with the naturall inhabitants specially imployed," gives the following statement, concerning the Indians within the Colony of Virginia :

"Some religion they have already, which, although it be farre from the true, yet this being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed; they also believe that *there are many gods, which they call Mantloac, being of different sorts and degrees, one onely chiefe and Great God, which hath bene from all eternitie.* Who, as they affirme, when hee purposed to make the world, *made first other Gods of a principall order, to be as meanes and instruments to be used in the Creation and government to folow; and after the sunne, moone, and starres as pettie Gods, and the instruments of the other order more principal.* First, (they say,) were made waters, out of which by the Gods was made all diversitie of creatures that are visible or invisible." Hackluyt's Collection, vol. 3. p. 276-7.

In Winslow's "Good News from New-England; or a relation of things remarkable in that plantation," anno 1622, occur the following remarks on the subject of the Indian Religion :

"A few things I thought meete to adde heereunto, which I have observed amongst the Indians, both touching their religion, and sundry other customs amongst them. And first, *whereas myselfe and others, in former letters* (which came to the presse against my wille and knowledge,) *wrote that the Indians about us are a people without any religion or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though wee could then gather no better; for as they conceive of many divine powers, so of one whom they call Kiehtan, to be the principall maker of all the rest. and to be made by none: Hee, (they say,) created the Heavens, Earth, Sea, and all creatures contained therein.* Also, that hee made

one man and one woman, of whom they and wee, and all mankind, came : but how they became so farre dispersed that know they not. At first, they say, there was no *Sachem* or *King*, but *Kiehtan* who dwelleth above the Heavens, whither all good men goe when they die to see their friends, and have their fill of all things : This, his habitation, lyeth westward in the Heavens they say ; thither the bad men goe also, and knocke at His doore, but he bids them *Quachet*, that is to say *Walke abroad*, for there is no place for such ; so that they wander in restlesse want and penury. *Never man saw this Kiehtan ; onely old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children ; yea, to charge them to teach their posterities the same, and lay the like charge upon them. This power they acknowledge to be good, and when they obtaine any great matter, meet together and cry unto him, and so likewise for plenty, victory, &c. sing, dance, feast, give thanks, and hang up garlands, and other things in memory of the same.*

“ Another power they worship whom they call *Hobbamock*, and to the northward of us *Hobbamoqui* ; this as farre as wee can conceive is the devill, him they call upon to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, hee perswades them hee sends the same for some concealed anger against them, but upon their calling upon him, can and doth help them ; but when they are mortall, and not curable in nature, then he perswades them *Kiehtan* is angry and sends them, whom none can cure ; insomuch, as in that respect onely they somewhat doubt whether hee bee simply good, and therefore in sicknesse never call upon him. *This Hobbomock appears in sundry formes unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deare, a fawne, an eagle, &c., but most ordinarily as a snake.*” &c. Purchas's Pilgrim, lib. x. chap. v. vol. 4. p. 1867.

This Hobbomock, or Hobbamoqui, who “ appears in sundry forms,” is evidently the *Oké* or *Tutelary Deity*, which each Indian worships ; and Mr. Winslow's narrative affords a solution of the pretended worship of the devil, which the first settlers imagined they had discovered, and which has since been so frequently mentioned on their authority, without examination. The natives, it was found, worshipped another being, beside the Great Spirit, which every one called his *Hobbomock*, or Guardian *Oké*. This, the English thought, could be no other than the *Devil*, and accordingly they asserted, without further ceremony, what they believed to be a fact. Hence, in a “ Tractate, written at Henrico in Virginia, by Master Alexander Whitaker, Minister to the Colony there,” (anno 1613,) we find the following account of the worship of the *Kewas*, or *Tutelary Deity* of the Virginian Indians :

“ They acknowledge that *there is a Great Good God*, but know him not, having the eyes of their understanding as yet blinded : wherefore they serve the devill for feare, after a most base manner, sacrificing sometimes, (as T

have here heard,) their owne children to him.\* *I have sent one image of their God to the counsell in England, which is painted upon one side of a toad-stoole, much like unto a deformed monster. Their priests, (whom they call Quiokosoughs,) are no other but such as our English witches are,"* &c. Purchas, lib. ix. vol. 4. p. 1771.

## NOTE H.

"Nemo vir magnus sine aliquo afflatu divino unquam fuit." Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii.

"Les sauvages appellent Génie ou Esprit tout ce qui surpasse la capacité de leur entendement, et dont ils ne peuvent comprendre la cause. Ils en croient de bons et de mauvais." La Hontan, *Mémoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, Amsterd. 1705. ed. 2. vol. 2. p. 127. They adore the Great Spirit, he observes, in every thing. "Cela est si vrai que dès qu'ils voyent quelque chose de beau, de curieux ou de surprenant, surtout le soleil et les autres astres, ils s'écrient ainsi: O Grand Esprit, nous te voyons partout." Ib. p. 115.—La Hontan was an infidel, and sought to exalt deism at the expense of christianity. It is impossible to read his work without perceiving that he shelters himself under the garb of an Indian, while he gives vent to opinions which in France would have endangered his safety, if uttered as his own. We can never be certain of the accuracy of his statements, excepting when corroborated by other testimony.—In the above extracts, it will be seen how he has bent to the support of his own notions, the belief that every thing in nature has its tutelary spirit.

It has been before remarked that all nature is divided by the Indians into the two great classes of animate and inanimate. It is probable, therefore, that all animate nature being considered as one great whole, the agency of tutelary spirits is supposed to be co-extensive.—"Un François ayant un jour jetté un souris qu'il venoit de prendre, une petite fille la ramassa pour la manger: le pere de l'enfant, qui l'apperçut, la lui arracha, et se mit à faire de grandes caresses à l'animal qui étoit mort: le François lui en demanda la raison: 'C'est, repondit-il, pour appaiser le Génie des souris, afin qu'il ne tourmente pas ma fille, quand elle aura mangé celle-ci.' Après quoi, il rendit l'animal à l'enfant, qui le mangea."—Charlevoix, *Journal*, p. 299, 300.—"Non seulement ces sauvages (the Potewotamies, Outagamies, and other nations around Lake Michigan) ont, comme tous les autres, la coûtume de se préparer aux grandes chasses par des jeûnes, que les Outagamis poussent même jusqu'à dix jours de suite, mais encore, tandis que les chasseurs sont en campagne, on oblige souvent

\* This, Purchas afterwards mentions, is found to be false, vol. 5. p. 952. It arose from a mistaken notion respecting the ceremony of obtaining a Guardian Spirit for boys. See Note I.



les enfans de jeûner, on observe les songes qu'ils ont pendant leur jeûne, et on en tire de bons ou de mauvais augures pour le succès de la chasse. *L'intention de ces jeûnes est d'apaiser les Génies tutélaires des animaux, qu'on doit chasser, et l'on prétend qu'ils font connaître par les rêves s'ils s'opposeront, ou s'ils seront favorables aux chasseurs.*" Ib. ubi supra.

"I have often reflected," says Mr. Heckewelder, "on the curious connexion which appears to subsist in the mind of an Indian, between man and the brute creation, and found much matter in it for curious observation.—All beings, endowed by the Creator with the power of volition and self-motion, they view in a manner as a great society, of which they are the head, &c.—They are, in fact, according to their opinions, only the first among equals, the legitimate hereditary sovereigns of the whole animated race, of which they are themselves a constituent part. Hence, in their languages, those inflections of their nouns, which we call *genders*, are not, as with us, descriptive of the *masculine* and *feminine* species, but of the *animate* and *inanimate* kinds. Indeed, they go so far as to include trees and plants within the first of these descriptions. All animated nature, in whatever degree, is, in their eyes, a great whole, from which they have not yet ventured to separate themselves. They do not exclude other animals from their world of Spirits, the place to which they expect to go after death.—

"A Delaware hunter once shot a huge bear, and broke its back bone. The animal fell, and set up a most plaintive cry, something like that of the panther when he is hungry. The hunter, instead of giving him another shot, stood up close to him, and addressed him in these words: 'Heark ye! bear; you are a coward, and no warrior, as you pretend to be. Were you a warrior, you would show it by your firmness, and not cry and whimper like an old woman. You know, bear, that our tribes are at war with each other, and that your's was the aggressor. You have found the Indians too powerful for you, and you have gone sneaking about in the woods, stealing their hogs; perhaps at this time you have hog's flesh in your belly. Had you conquered me, I would have borne it with courage, and died like a brave warrior; but you, bear, sit here and cry, and disgrace your tribe by your cowardly conduct.' I was present at the delivery of this curious invective. When the hunter had despatched the bear, I asked him how he thought that poor animal could understand what he said to it? 'Oh!' said he, in answer, 'the bear understood me very well; did you not observe how *ashamed* he looked while I was upbraiding him?' " Historical Account, &c. p. 247—9.

#### NOTE I.

Mr. Heckewelder describes the same custom under the name of "Initiation of Boys;" "a practice," he says, "which is very common among the



Indians, and indeed is universal among those nations that I have become acquainted with." "When a boy is to be thus initiated, he is put under an alternate course of physic and fasting, either taking no food whatever, or swallowing the most powerful and nauseous medicines, and occasionally he is made to drink decoctions of an intoxicating nature, until his mind becomes sufficiently bewildered, so that he sees, or fancies that he sees, visions, and has extraordinary dreams," &c.—"Then he has interviews with the Manitto, or with Spirits who inform him of what he was before he was born, and what he will be after his death. His fate in this life is laid entirely open before him; the Spirit tells him what is to be his future employment," &c.—"When a boy has been thus initiated, a name is given to him analogous to the visions that he has seen, and to the destiny that is supposed to be prepared for him. The boy, imagining all that happened to him, while under perturbation, to have been real, sets out in the world with lofty notions of himself, and animated with courage for the most desperate undertakings." Hist. Account, p. 238, 239.

This practice of blacking the face and fasting, together with the use of emetics, as a system of religious purification, for the purpose of obtaining a Guardian Spirit, appears to have existed formerly among the natives of Virginia and New-England; though the first settlers were not always able to learn the real object of the ceremonies they saw. Tomocomo, one of the Chiefs of the Virginian tribes, gave the following account to Mr. Purchas, in the year 1616.

"They use to make black-boyes once in 14 or 15 yeeres generally, for all the country, (this happened the last yeere, 1615,) when all of a certaine age, that have not beene made black-boyes before, are initiated in this ceremonie. Some foure monthes after that rite they live apart, and are fed by some appointed to carry them their food: they speake to no man, nor come in company, seeme distracted, (some thinke by some devillish apparition scarred; certaine, to oblige them to that devillish religion as by a hellish sacrament of the devil's institution,) and will offer to shoot at such as come nigh them. And when they come into company, yet are, for a certaine time, of silent and strange behaviour, and wil doe any thing never so desperate that they shal be bidden; if they tel them they shal be old men, if they goe not into the fire, they will doe it. There is none of their men but are made blacke-boyes at one time or other. Let us observe these things with pittie and compassion, and endeavour to bring these silly souls out of the snare of the Devill, by our prayers, our purses, and all our best endeavours. This may bee added, that their young people have, in manner, no knowledge, and the vulgar little of their religion. They use also to beguile them with their *okee*, or image of him in their houses, into whose mouth they will put a tobacco-pipe kindled, and one behinde that image draws

the smoke, which the sillier vulgar and children thinke to bee done by their God or Idoll." Relation of Tomocomo and Mr. Rolph, in Purchas, vol. v. booke 8. chap. 6. p. 955.

This ceremony was witnessed by the famous Captain John Smith, one of the first settlers, and by William White, but they at the time mistook it for a sacrifice of the Children to the Devil. See Purchas, vol. 5. p. 952.

"The Werowance being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered, That the Children were not all dead, but the next day they were to *drinke Wighsakon*, which would make them mad; *and they were to be kept by the last made blacke-boyes* in the wilderness, *when their oke did sucke the bloud* of those which fell to his lot, &c. This sacrifice they held to be so necessary, *that if they should omit it, their oke or Devill, and all their other Quiyoughcosughes, which are their other gods, would let them have no deare, turkies, corne, nor fish, and yet besides, he would make a great slaughter amongst them.*" Captain Smith's Description of Virginia. Purchas, vol. 4. p. 1702. lib. ix. cap. iii.

Mr. Winslow gives the following account of the Indians of New-England. "The *Panieses* are men of great courage and wisdom, and to these also the *Deuill* appeareth more familiarly then to others, and, as wee conceive, maketh covenants with them, to preserve them from death by wounds with arrowes, knives, hatchets, &c. or at least both themselves and especially the people thinke themselves to be freed from the same. And though against their battels, all of them, by painting, disfigure themselves, yet they are knowne by their courage and boldnesse, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost an hundred men, for they account it death for whomsoever stand in their way. These are highly esteemed by all sorts of people, and are of the *Sachim's* councill, without which they will not warre, or vndertake any weightie businesse," &c.

"And to the end they may have store of these, they traine up the most forward and likeliest boys from their childhood in great hardnesse, and make them abstain from daintie meat, observing diuers orders prescribed, to the end that when they are of age, the *Deuill* may appeare to them, causing to drink the juyce of sentry, and other bitter hearbs till they cast, which they must disgorge into the platter, and drinke againe and againe, till at length, through extraordinary press of nature, it will seeme to be all bloud, and this the boys will doe with eagernesse, till by reason of faintnesse they can scarce stand on their legs, and then must goe forth into the cold: also they beat their shins with sticks, and cause them to run through bushes, stumps, and brambles, to make them hardy and acceptable to the *Deuill*, that in time he may appeare unto them." Purchas's Pilgrim, b. x. chap. 5. vol. 4. p. 1868. The passages in italics sufficiently indicate the confidence and courage with which the natives were inspired, from the conviction of their possessing a Guardian Spirit, and the painful austerities which their children were obliged to undergo in order to obtain one.

## NOTE K.

In 1584, when Virginia was first discovered, the Captain of one of the vessels sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, states, concerning the inhabitants of the Island of Roanoak, that "within the place where they feede was their lodging, and *within that their Idoll, which they worship, of whome they speak incredible things.*" Hakluyt, vol 3. p. 249. 4to. Lond. 1600 "*When they goe to warres they carry about with them their idol, of whom they aske counsel, as the Romans were wont of the oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they marche towardes the battell instead of drummes,*" &c. Ibid. p. 250.

## NOTE L.

Adair affirms that the Indians do not "worship any kind of Images whatsoever." (p. 22.) "These Indian Americans," he says, "pay their religious devoir to Loak Ishto-hoollo-Aba, 'the great, beneficent, supreme, holy Spirit of Fire,' who resides, (as they think,) above the clouds, and on earth also with unpolluted people. He is with them the sole author of warmth, light, and of all animal and vegetable life. They do not pay the least perceivable adoration to any images or to dead persons; neither to the celestial luminaries, nor evil Spirits, nor any created beings whatsoever." p. 19. Yet he afterwards admits that "there is a carved human statue of wood," but asserts that they pay to it no religious homage. "It belongs to the head war-town of the upper Muskohge country, and seems to have been originally designed to perpetuate the memory of some distinguished hero who deserved well of his country; for when their *cusseena*, or bitter black drink, is about to be drank in the Synedrion, they frequently, on common occasions, will bring it there, and honour it with the first conchshell-full by the hand of the chief religious attendant: and then return it to its former place." (p. 22.) He speaks also of "Cherubimical figures in their Synhedria," before which they danced through a strong religious principle, and always in a bowing posture: (p. 30.) When it is recollected that Adair's theory required it to be proved that the Indians worship no other than the Supreme Being, it will not be difficult to account for the reluctance with which he is obliged to admit the fact of the existence of these images, and for the attempt to explain it in consistency with his hypothesis.

"Though so familiar with these genii, they, (the Jugglers,) cannot describe their form or nature. They suppose them to be bodies of a light, volatile, shadowy texture. Sometimes they and their disciples will select a particular one, and give him for a dwelling, a certain tree, serpent, rock, or waterfall, and him they make their fetish, like the Africans of Congo." Volney, p. 417.

"When we arrived on the west side of the River, each painted the front of his target or shield; some with the figure of the sun, others with that of the moon, several with different kinds of birds and beasts of prey, and many with the images of imaginary beings, which, according to their silly notions, are the inhabitants of the different elements, earth, sea, air, &c. On inquiring the reason of their doing so, I learned that each man painted his shield with the image of that being on which he relied most for success in the intended engagement." Hearne, 149.

Yet Hearne affirms elsewhere that they had no religion!—He speaks in this place of the Chepewyan, or Northern Indians, passing the Copper-mine River to attack the Esquimaux.

Just above the mouth of Stone Idol Creek, "we discovered that a few miles back from the Missouri *there are two stones resembling human figures, and a third like a dog*; all which are objects of great veneration among the Ricaras.—Whenever they (the Ricaras) pass these sacred stones, *they stop to make some offering of dress to propitiate these deities*. Such is the account given by the Ricara Chief." Lewis and Clarke, (1804,) vol. 1. p. 107.

Hariot, a servant of Sir Walter Raleigh, says of the natives of Virginia, (anno 1587.) "They thinke that *all the Gods are of humane shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the formes of men which they call Kewasowok*, one alone is called *Kewas*: them they place in houses appropriate or temples, which they call *Machicomuck*, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many times offering unto them. In some *Machicomuck* we have seene but one *Kewas*, in some two, and in other some, three. The common sort thinke them to be also Gods." Hakluyt, vol. 3. p. 277. See also Purchas, vol. v. p. 948. of the Virginian rites related by Master Hariot.

"Their Idoll, called *Kiwasa*," says the same author, "is made of wood foure foot high, the face resembling the inhabitants of Florida, painted with fleshe colour, the brest white, the other parts black, except the legs, which are spotted with white; he hath chaines or strings of beades about his neck." Hariot, apud Purchas, vol. v. p. 950.

"There is yet in Virginia," says Captain Smith, "no place discovered to be so savage in which the Savages have not a religion.—All things that were able to doe them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordnance pieces, horses, &c. But their Chiefe God they worship is the Divell; *him they call Oke*, and serve him more of feare than love. They say they have conference with him, and fashion themselves as neere to his shape as they can imagine. *In their temples they have his image evil favouredly carved, and then painted and adorned with chaines, copper and beades, and covered with a skin, in such manner as the deformitie may well suite with such a God.*" Description of Virginia, Purchas, lib. ix. cap. iii. vol. 4. p. 1701.



## NOTE M.

"There is an herbe which is sowed apart by itselfe, and is called by the inhabitants *Uppowoc*: in the West Indies it hath divers names, according to the severall places and countreys where it groweth and is used; the Spaniards generally call it *Tabacco*.—This *Uppowoc* is of so precious estimation amongst them, that they thinke their gods are marvellously delighted therewith: whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storme upon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some up into the aire, and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set up, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding up of hands, and staring up into the heavens, uttering therewithall and chattering strange words and noises." Hariot, apud Hakluyt, vol. 3. p. 271-2.

"In every territory of a *Werowance*, is a temple and a priest, two or three, or more. The principall temple, or place of superstition, is at Uttamussack, at Pamauk, and neere unto which is a house, temple, or place of *Powhatans*. Upon the top of certain red sandy hils in the woods, there are three great houses filled with images of their kings, and divels, and tombs of their predecessors. Those houses are neere sixty foot in length, built arbor-wise, after their building. This place they count so holy, as that none but the priests and kings dare come into them; nor the savages dare not go up the river in boates by it, but that they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or pocones into the river; for feare their Oke should be offended and revenged of them. In this place commonly are resident, seven priests," &c. Smith's Description of Virginia. Purchas, lib. ix. chap. iii. vol. 4. p. 1701.

## NOTE N.

How exactly the *Zemes* of the Islanders corresponded with the *Okies* or *Manittoes* of the present Continental Indians, will appear from the following relation in Purchas:

"Now, concerning the *Zemes* and the superstitions of Hispaniola, the Spaniards had beene long in the iland before they knew that the people worshipped any thing but the lights of Heaven; but after, by further conversing and living amongst them, they came to know more of their religion, of which, one *Ramonus*, a Spanish heremite, writ a booke, and Martyr hath borrowed of him to lend us. It is apparent, by the images which they worshipped, that there appeared unto them certaine illusions of evil spirits. These images they made of Gossampine colton hard stopped, sitting, like the pictures of the Divel, which they called *Zemes*; whom they take to be the



*mediators and messengers of the Great God, which they acknowledge One, Eternall, Infinite, Omnipotent, Invisible. Of these they thinke they obtaine raine or faire weather ; and when they goe to the warres, they have certaine little ones which they bind to their foreheades. Every king hath his particular Zemes, which he honoureth. They call the Eternall God by these two names, Jocanna and Guamanomocon, as their predecessors taught them, affirming, that he hath a father, called by these five names, Attabeira, Mamona, Guacarapita, Liella, Guimazoa.*

“They make the Zemes of divers matter and forme : some of wood, as they were admonished by certaine visions appearing to them in the woods : others, which had received answeres of them among the rockes, make them of stone : some of rootes, to the similitude of such as appeare to them when they gather the rootes whereof they make their bread, thinking that the Zemes sent them plenty of these rootes. They attribute a Zemes to the particular tuition of every thing ;—some assigned to the sea, others to fountaines, woods, or other their peculiar charges.” Purchas, vol. v. p. 1091.

## NOTE O.

“The Mandans,” according to Captains Lewis and Clarke, 1804, “believe” that “the whole nation” formerly “resided in one large village under ground, near a subterraneous lake.” Accident made them acquainted with the charms of the upper region, and about one half of the nation ascended to the surface of the earth. When they die, they expect to return to the original seats of their forefathers ; “the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the burden of the sins of the wicked will not enable them to cross.” See the tradition related at large, Exped. up the Missouri, vol. 1. p. 139.

“Kagohami came down to see us early ; his village is afflicted by the death of one of their eldest men, who, from his account to us, must have seen one hundred and twenty winters. Just as he was dying, he requested his grandchildren to dress him in his best robe when he was dead, and then carry him on a hill, and seat him on a stone, with his face down the river towards their old villages, that he might go straight to his brother, who had passed before him to the ancient village under ground.” Ibid, vol. 1 p. 163.

It is remarkable how many of the Indian nations think they formerly lived under ground.

“They,” the natives of Virginia, (anno, 1587,) “believe also the immortalitye of the soule, that after this life, as soone as the soule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either caried to heaven, the habitacle of Gods, there to enjoy perpetuall blisse and happinesse, or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to be in the furthest parts of their part

of the world toward the sunne set, there to burne continually : the place they call *Popogusso*." Hariot, apud Hackluyt, vol. 3. p. 277.

"They think that their werowances and priests, which they also esteeme *Quiyoughcosughes*, when they are dead, goe beyond the mountaines towards the setting of the sunne, and ever remaine there in forme of their *Oke*, with their heads painted with oile and *pocones*, finely trimmed with feathers, and shall have beades, hatchets, copper, and tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing, with all their predecessors," &c. Capt. Smith's Description of Virginia, apud Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1702.

## NOTE P.

See Heckewelder's account of Indian funerals, Hist. Acc. p. 262-271. "This hole" (in the coffin) "is for the spirit of the deceased *to go in and out at pleasure, until it has found the place of its future residence.*" p. 266. "At dusk a kettle of victuals was carried to the grave, and placed upon it, and the same was done every evening for the space of three weeks, at the end of which it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence." p. 270. This was the funeral of the wife of Shingask, a noted Delaware chief, at which Mr. H. was present in 1762.

Blackbird, a Maha chief, died of the small pox about four years before Lewis and Clarke's expedition, (i. e. in 1800.) On the top of a knoll, three hundred feet above the water, a mound of twelve feet diameter at the base, and six feet high, is raised over the body of the deceased king. "*Ever since his death he is supplied with provisions from time to time, by the superstitious regard of the Mahas.*" Lewis and Clarke's Exped. up the Missouri, vol. 1. p. 43. "The effects of the small pox on that nation" (the Mahas) "are most distressing.—They had been a military and powerful people, but when these warriors saw their strength wasting before a malady which they could not resist, their frenzy was extreme; they burnt their village, and many of them put to death their wives and children, to save them from so cruel an affliction, and that all might go together to some better country." Ibid. p. 45. Compare with this, Hebr. xi. 14, 15, 16.

## NOTE Q.

"When any of their relations die," says Adair, "they immediately fire off several guns, by one, two, and three at a time, for fear of being plagued with the last troublesome neighbours:" (the Hottuk ookproose, accursed people, or evil spirits.) "All the adjacent towns also on the occasion, whoop and halloo at night; for they reckon, this offensive noise sends off the ghosts to their proper fixed place, till they return at some certain time, to

repossess their beloved tract of land, and enjoy their terrestrial paradise. As they believe in God, so they firmly believe that there is a class of higher beings than men, and a future state of existence." Hist. of North American Indians, p. 36.

## NOTE R.

In another place, Charlevoix mentions the superstitions of the Ottawas, among whom an Idol was erected, "et tout le monde occupé à lui sacrifier des Chiens." Hist. de la Nouv. France, Tom. 1. p. 392. "Les Criques adorent le soleil, auquel ils sacrifient des Chiens." Ibid. p. 397.

Lewis and Clarke, (anno 1804,) observed the same custom among the Tetons Okandandas. "The hall, or council room, was in the shape of three quarters of a circle covered at the top and sides with skins well dressed and sewed together. Under this shelter sat about 70 men, forming a circle round the chief, before whom were placed a Spanish flag, and the one we had given them yesterday," &c.—"After he had ceased, the great chief rose and delivered an harangue to the same effect: then, with great solemnity, he took some of the most delicate parts of the dog, which was cooked for the festival, and held it to the flag by way of sacrifice: this done, he held up the pipe of peace, and first pointed it towards the heavens, then to the four quarters of the globe, and then to the earth, made a short speech, lighted the pipe, and presented it to us." Expedition up the Missouri, vol. 1, p. 84.

"When any of the young men of these nations, (Iroquois,) have a mind to signalize themselves, and to gain a reputation among their countrymen, by some notable enterprise against their enemy, they, at first, communicate their design to two or three of their most intimate friends; and if they come into it, an invitation is made in their names to all the young men of the Castle to feast on dog's flesh; but whether this be because dog's flesh is most agreeable to Indian palates, or whether it be as an emblem of fidelity for which the dog is distinguished by all nations, that it is always used on this occasion, I have not sufficient information to determine. When the company is met, the promoters of the enterprise set forth the undertaking in the best colours they can; they boast of what they intend to do, and incite others to join, from the glory there is to be obtained; and all who eat of the dog's flesh, thereby enlist themselves." Colden's Hist. of Five Indian Nations of Canada, Introduc. p. vi.

Bernal Diaz, one of the companions of Cortes, mentions the same practice as prevailing among the Mexicans.

"When he arrived at the summit, he found there an Indian woman, very

fat, and *having with her a dog of that species, which they breed in order to eat, and which do not bark.* This Indian was a witch; *she was in the act of sacrificing the dog which is a signal of hostility.*" The true Hist. of the Conquest of Mexico, by Captain Bernal Diaz del Castillo, one of the Conquerors, written in the year 1568. Keatinge's Trans. p. 352.

In the Scriptures, dogs and swine are continually mentioned together as animals equally unclean. Hence, the prophet, reprehending the hypocrisy of those who rested in mere external observances, could think of no stronger figure to represent the abhorrence with which God regarded their offerings, than the comparison of them to the sacrifice of dogs and swine. "He that sacrificeth a lamb, is as if he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation as if he offered swine's blood," &c. Isaiah, lxvi. 3. Comp. Matt. vii. 6. and 2 Pet. ii. 22. The law not only forbade dogs to be offered to God, but even the price for which dogs were sold. Deut. xxiii. 18. See Bochart Hieroz. lib. ii. cap. lvi. pars. 1. p. 690.

Is it credible that nations, descended from the Hebrews, would have so far forgotten their origin, as to offer in sacrifice, what the law of Moses declared to be an abomination in the sight of God?—Adair speaks of the aversion which the Indians originally had to swine's flesh, as a proof of their Hebrew origin, but is silent respecting the practice of sacrificing and eating that of dogs. Hist. N. Amer. Indians, p. 133-4.

#### NOTE S.

Hearne, speaking of the superstitious observances of the Chepewyan Indians, after an engagement with the Esquimaux, says, that all who had shed blood were considered in a state of uncleanness, and were not permitted to cook any victuals for themselves or others. The murderers painted all the space between the nose and chin, as well as the greater part of their cheeks, with red ochre before they would taste a bit of food, and would not drink out of any other dish, or smoke out of any other pipe but their own; and none of the others seemed willing to drink or smoke out of theirs. All these ceremonies were observed from the time of their killing the Esquimaux in July, till the winter began to set in, and during the whole of that time they would never kiss any of their wives or children. They refrained also from eating many parts of the deer, and other animals, particularly the head, entrails, and blood, and during their uncleanness, their victuals were never sodden in water, but dried in the sun, eaten quite raw, or boiled, when a fire fit for the purpose could be procured.

"When the time arrived for putting an end to these ceremonies, the men, without a female being present, made a fire at some distance from the tents, into which they threw all their ornaments, pipe-stems, and dishes, which



were soon consumed to ashes; after which a feast was prepared, consisting of such articles as they had long been prohibited from eating; and when all was over, each man was at liberty to eat, drink, and smoke as he pleased; and also to kiss his wives and children at discretion, which they seemed to do with more raptures than I had ever known them do it either before or since." Hearne, p. 204-6. This was evidently an expiatory rite, a purification by fire and a sacrifice. How inconsistent with Hearne's assertion in another place, that they have no religion!

Captain Smith thus describes the worship of the natives of Virginia :

"The manner of their devotion is, sometimes to make a great fire in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it with *rattles*, and shout together four or five houres. Sometime they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing, he all the while clapping his hands, as if he would keepe time, and after their songs and dances ended, *they goe to their feasts*.

"They have also certaine altar stones, they call *Pawcorances*, but these stand from their temples, some by their houses, others in the woods and wildernesses, where they have had any extraordinary accident or incounter. As you travell by them they will tell you the cause of their erection, wherein they instruct their children; so that they are in stead of records and memorialls of their antiquities. *Upon this they offer Bloud, Deare Suet, and Tobacco*. These they doe *when they retorne from the warres, from hunting, and upon many other occasions*. They have also another superstition that they use in stormes, *when the waters are rough in the Rivers and Seacoasts*. Their conjurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their boats, after many hellish outcries and invocations, *they cast tobacco, copper, pocones, or such trash, into the water, to pacifie that God whom they thinke to be very angry in those stormes*. Before their dinners and suppers, the better sort *will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire*, which is all the grace they are knowne to use." Description of Virginia, by Captaine John Smith. Purchas, lib. ix. chap. iii. vol. 4. p. 1702.

Mr. Winslow gives the following account of the religious rites of the natives of New-England :

"*Many sacrifices the Indians use, and in some cases kill children*. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little distance, and grow more and more cold in their worship to Kiehtan," &c. "The Nanohigganses exceed in their blind devotion, and have a great spatious house wherein onely some few (that as we may tearme them priests) come : thither at certaine knowne times, resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their Gods, as kettles, skins, hatchets, beades, knives, &c. all which are cast by the priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering, every man bringeth freely, and the more hee is knowne to bring, hath the better esteeme of all men." Good News from New-England, &c. Purchas, vol. 4. lib. x. chap. v. p. 1867-8.



## NOTE T.

“One would think it scarce possible,” says Bryant in his *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, “that so unnatural a custom, as that of human sacrifices, should have existed in the world; but it is very certain, that it did not only exist, but almost universally prevail.” *Analysis*, Edit. 3d. 8vo. Lond. 1807. vol. 6. p. 295.

From this learned writer I select a few examples of this horrid practice, referring for complete satisfaction on this interesting subject to the work itself.

“Phylarchus affirms, as he is quoted by Porphyry, that of old, every Grecian state made it a rule, before they marched towards an enemy, to solicit a blessing on their undertakings by human victims. Aristomenes, the Messenian, slew 300 noble Lacedemonians, among whom was Theopompus, the King of Sparta, at the altar of Jupiter, at Ithome. The Spartan boys were whipped, in the sight of their parents, with such severity before the altar of Diana Orthia, that they often expired under the torture.

Among the Romans, “Caius Marius offered up his own daughter for a victim to the Dii Averrunci, to procure success in a battle against the Cimbri. When Lentulus and Crassus were Consuls, so late as the 657th year of Rome, a law was enacted that there should be no more human sacrifices.—This law, however, was not sufficient to produce their abolition, for not very long after this, it is reported, by Suetonius, of Augustus Cæsar, when Perusia surrendered in the time of the second Triumvirate, that, beside multitudes executed in a military manner, he offered up, upon the Ides of March, 300 chosen persons, both of the Equestrian and Senatorian Order, at an altar dedicated to the manes of his Uncle Julius. Even at Rome itself this custom was revived: and Porphyry assures us, that, in his time, a man was every year sacrificed at the shrine of Jupiter Latiaris. Heliogabalus offered the like victims to the Syrian Deity, which he introduced among the Romans. The same is said of Aurelian.

“The Carthaginians, upon a great defeat of their army by Agathocles, seeing the enemy at their gates, seized at once 200 children of the prime nobility, and offered them in public for a sacrifice. Three hundred more, being persons who were somehow obnoxious, yielded themselves voluntarily, and were put to death with the others. The neglect of which they accused themselves, consisted in sacrificing children, purchased of parents among the poorer sort who reared them for that purpose; and not selecting the most promising, and the most honourable, as had been the custom of old. In short, there were particular children brought up for the altar, as sheep are fattened for the shambles: and they were bought and butchered in the same manner.—If a person had an only child, it was the more liable to be put to death, as being esteemed more acceptable to the deity, and more effi-

cacious of the general good," &c. It is impossible not to shudder at this dreadful recital. In comparison with the infernal rites of these *civilized* nations, how pure is the religion of the *Savages* of America!

## NOTE U.

The arts practised by these impostors, when called upon to exercise their supposed power of healing, are thus described by Mr. Heckewelder. "Attired in a frightful dress, he approaches his patient, with a variety of contortions and gestures, and performs by his side, and over him, all the antic tricks that his imagination can suggest. He breathes on him, blows in his mouth, and squirts some medicines, which he has prepared, in his face, mouth, and nose; he rattles his gourd filled with dry beans or pebbles, pulls out and handles about a variety of sticks and bundles, in which he appears to be seeking for the proper remedy, all which is accompanied with the most horrid gesticulations, by which he endeavours, as he says, to frighten the Spirit or the disorder away," &c. Hist. Account, p. 225.

Mr. Hearne's description of the conjurers among the Chepewyan or Northern Indians, which is very minute, and disgusting enough, corresponds so exactly with Heckewelder's account, that it would seem as if the same person had sat to each for his picture. From the following passage it will be seen that he depends for success upon the aid of his attendant Spirit.

"—I began to be very inquisitive about the Spirits, which appear to them, on these occasions, [swallowing a stick, bayonet, &c.] and their form; when I was told that they appeared in various shapes, for almost every conjurer had his peculiar attendant; but that the Spirit which attended the man who pretended to swallow the piece of wood, they said, generally appeared to him in the shape of a cloud." Hearne, p. 217–18. of the Northern or Chepewyan Indians.

From the following extracts, it will be seen that the same office existed, attended by the same ceremonies, and the same results, among the natives of Virginia, at the time of its first settlement by the English.

"To cure the sicke, a certaine man with a little rattle, using extreme howlings, shouting, singing, with divers antick and strange behaviours over the patient, sucketh blood out of his stomack or diseased place." News from Virginia by Captain Smith, apud Purchas, vol. v. p. 950.

Master Alexander Whitaker, Minister to the Colony at Henrico, anno 1613, states, that "they stand in great awe of the *Quiokosoughs*, or priests, which are a generation of vipers, even of Sathan's owne brood. The manner of their life is much like to the Popish Hermits of our age; for they live alone in the woods, in houses sequestered from the common course of men, neither may any man be suffered to come into their house, or to speake with

them, but when this priest doth call him. He taketh no care for his victuals, for all such kinde of things, both bread and water, &c. are brought unto a place neere unto his cottage, and there are left, which hee fetcheth for his proper neede. *If they would have raine, or have lost any thing, they have their recourse to him, who conjureth for them, and many times prevaieth. If they be sick, he is their physician; if they be wounded, he sucketh them. At his command they make warre and peace, neither doe they any thing of moment without him.*" Whitaker, in Purchas, vol. 4. p. 1771.

*Quiokosough* seems to have been an appellation common to their Gods and conjurers, unless it be a mistake of the English settlers. The Virginian Indians so fed Captain Smith, "that he much misdoubted that he should have beene sacrificed to the *Quoyoughquosicke*, which is a superiour power they worshippe, then the Image whereof, a more ugly thing cannot be described." Purchas, vol. v. p. 950.

The name written by Whitaker, *Quiokosough*, and by Smith, *Quoyoughquosicke*, is, no doubt, the same as *Kewasowok* in Hariot's account; a proof of the uncertainty of the orthography of Indian words.

Among the New-England Indians, the same office was designated by the name of *Powah*, or as it is otherwise written *Powow*. Thus Mr. Winslow states, in his "Good Newes from New-England"—"The office and dutie of the *Powah*, is to be exercised principally in calling upon the Devill, and curing diseases of the sicke and wounded, &c.

"In the *Powah's* speech, hee promiseth to sacrifice many skinnes of Beasts, Kettles, Hatchets, Beades, Knives, and other the best things they have, to the fiend, if hee will come to helpe the partie diseased," &c. Purchas, vol. iv. lib. x. cap. v.

The Savages of Acadia, according to Charlevoix, called their Jongleurs, *Autmoins*. "Dans l'Acadie—quand on appelle les Jongleurs, c'est moins à cause de leur habileté, que parce qu'on suppose, qu'ils peuvent mieux sçavoir des Esprits la cause du mal, et les remedes, qu'il y faut appliquer.—Dans l'Acadie, les Jongleurs s'apelloient *Autmoins*, et c'étoit ordinairement le chef du village, qui étoit revêtu de cette dignité." Journal, p. 367-8.

In the *Bohitii* of the natives of Hispaniola, when they were visited by Columbus, we clearly recognize the same office.

"Their *Boitii*, or priests, instruct them in these superstitions: these are also physicians, making the people beleeve that they obtaine health for them of the *Zemes*. They tie themselves to much fasting and outward cleanlinesse and purging; especially where they take upon them the cure of great men: for then they drunke the powder of a certaine hearbe, which brought them into a furie, wherein they said they learned many things of their *Zemes*. Much adoe they make about the sicke partie, deforming themselves with many gestures, breathing, blowing, sucking the forehead, temples, and necke of the patient;

sometimes also saying, that the *Zemes* is angrie for not erecting a chappell, or dedicating to him a grove or garden, or the neglect of other holies. And if the sick partie die, his kins-folkes, by witchcraft, enforce the dead to speake, and tell them whether hee died by naturall destinie, or by the negligence of the Boitii, in not fasting the full due, or ministring convenient medicine : so that, if these physicians be found faulty, they take revenge of them." Purchas, vol. v. p. 1093.

## NOTE W.

See the very interesting report of Mr. Duponceau, to the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society; and also his Correspondence with Mr. Heckewelder. "All the genuine specimens that we have seen," he observes, "of the grammatical forms of the Indians from North to South, on the Continent and in the Islands, exhibit the same general features, and no exception whatever, that I know of, has yet been discovered."

"When we find so many different idioms, spoken by nations which reside at immense distances from each other, so entirely different in their etymology, that there is not the least appearance of a common derivation, *yet so strikingly similar in their forms that one would imagine the same mind presided over their original formation*, we may well suppose that the similarity extends through the whole of the language of this race of men, at least until we have clear and direct proof to the contrary." Correspondence, ut supr. Letter xxiii.

Will it be thought an extravagant supposition, that it was *the Divine mind which presided over their original formation*; and that when God confounded the languages of men *for the very purpose of dispersing them throughout the Earth*, He should have so planned the systems of speech, as to make similar grammatical forms characterize the great divisions of the human race?

## NOTE X.

In this opinion I am supported by Charlevoix. "D'ailleurs les idées quoiqu'entièrement confuses, qui leur sont restées d'un Premier Etre, les vestiges presque effacés du culte religieux, qu'ils paroissent avoir autrefois rendu à cette Divinité Suprême; et les foibles traces, qu'on remarque, jusques dans leurs actions les plus indifférentes, de l'ancienne croyance, et de la religion primitive, peuvent les remettre plus facilement qu'on ne croit, dans le chemin de la vérité, et donner à leur conversion au christianisme des facilités qu'on ne rencontre pas, ou qui sont contrebalancées par de plus grands obstacles, dans les nations les plus civilisées." Charlevoix, Journal, p. 265.

On this subject, Charlevoix may surely be admitted as a competent witness. No men have more accurately studied the human character than the Jesuits; and their conversion of the natives of Paraguay, and, what is still more to our purpose, the success of their present attempts to civilize and convert the Araucanians, a nation unconquered by the Spaniards, and in the highest degree martial, and jealous of their liberties, is a convincing proof of the wisdom of their system. Their missionaries are never solitary, and therefore are not obliged to sink to the level of the savage state, in order to enjoy the privileges of social life. The Indians, also, whom they educate, are induced to marry and settle around them, under their paternal supervision, instead of being again incorporated with their uncivilized countrymen; among whom, as experience has fully shown, they would quickly lose all that they had gained.

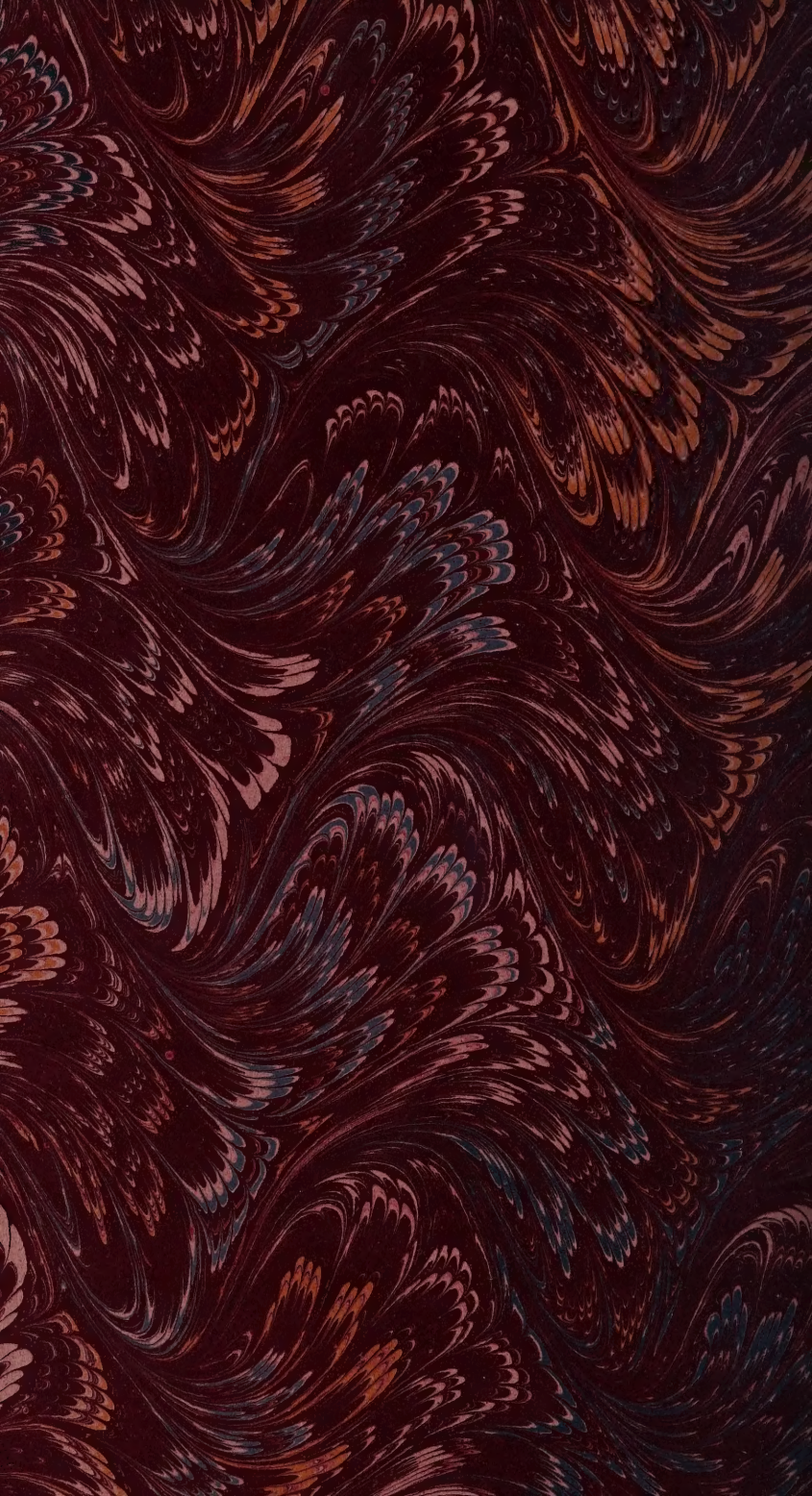

















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